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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

MOROCCO

PART 5

January to December 1951

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING MOROCCO—PART 5

CHAPTER I.—FRENCH MOROCCO

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JF 1013/2 No. 1

FRENCH MOROCCO: QUARTERLY REPORT

October–December 1950

Consul-General Sir C. Cane to Mr. Bevin. (*Received* 12*th January*)

(No. 1. Confidential) *Rabat,*
Sir, *5th January,* 1951.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report for the quarter ended 31st December, 1950.

2. The outstanding events during the period under review were the visit of His Majesty the Sultan to France, and the action of the Moroccan session of the "Conseil du Gouvernement" during the December meeting of the latter body. As, however, I reported fully on both these matters at the time, I have made only brief references to them in the report.

3. I am copying this despatch and its enclosure to His Majesty's Ambassador in Paris, to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, and to His Majesty's Representatives at Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis.

I have, &c.
CYRIL H. CANE.

Enclosure in No. 1

Political Report by His Majesty's Consul-General at Rabat for the quarter ended 31*st December,* 1950

1. Activities of Political Parties

The power of the Nationalist (Istiqlal) Party continues to increase, in spite of the strict measures taken by the local French authorities to prevent it from airing its views. Such measures are overcome to a great extent by the party's "underground" movement, which arranges, with considerable success, for the distribution of communiqués containing reports on the meetings of its higher council.

While the Democratic Party of Independence (Ouezzani's Party) is still in existence and is known to be following its declared policy of negotiation with the French in advance of complete independence, there has been no outward evidence of any activity on its part during the present quarter, beyond the suppression by the censor of a recent issue of its weekly, the *Rai el Amm.*

The remaining parties (apart from the Communist Party) consist of "Brotherhoods," which are purely movements used by the French to weaken the Nationalist Party.

2. Communist Activities

The Communist Party is still as active as it is allowed to be. Its "Bureau Politique" adopted a resolution on 2nd December praising the Moroccan people for their enthusiastic demonstrations on the occasion of the Sultan's return from France and the anniversary of his Accession to the Throne, during which they are alleged to have shown that "the realisation of their national hopes and the satisfaction of their aims will not be the result of talks with the French administrators, but will arise out of the union of them all in the fight against imperialism." The resolution concluded by calling upon the Moroccan delegates to voice the national movement by denouncing the protectorate and refusing to devaluate the budget at the forthcoming meeting of the Conseil du Gouvernement.

The "Union Générale des Syndicats Confédérés du Maroc" sent a telegram to Si Lyazidi, president of the 2ème Collège, approving his action at the meeting of the Conseil du Gouvernement, when he made a sustained attack on French policy

towards, and French administration in, Morocco, and asking him to support the workers.

There has been some flirtation by the Nationalists with the Communists, and the French have made use of this to discredit the former; but I do not think that this contact need, at present, be taken as more than an attempt to show the French the course which the Nationalists might be forced to adopt if they are unable to obtain satisfaction of their aspirations by other means.

3. Relations between Local Political Leaders and Parties and French Administration

The Nationalist Party is becoming more and more incensed at French action to discredit it and to side-track all its efforts to state its case. This culminated in the incidents reported in my despatch No. 40 of 16th December, when General Juin requested Si Laghzaoui to withdraw from a meeting of the Moroccan session of the Conseil du Gouvernement. My Vice-Consul learns that all the Moroccan delegates boycotted a tea-party to which they were subsequently invited by General Juin.

4. Developments in French Administrative Policy, Proposals for Constitutional Reform, &c.

The Moroccans hoped that, as the result of the recent visit of the Sultan to Paris, the 1912 Treaty would be revoked and replaced by a new one which would give the country a progressive measure of independence. Action by the French *colons,* backed by reactionary members of the Protectorate Administration, appears, however, to have dissuaded the French Government from taking such a course (to which they had previously given indications of a sympathetic attitude), and no immediate change in policy therefore seems likely. (In this connexion, please see my despatch No. 34 of 16th November, 1950.)

Local French journalists (notably M. Camille Aymard, writing in the Casablanca newspaper *Paris* on 1st December) are most critical of any tendency of the French Government to adopt a more sympathetic policy towards Moroccan Nationalist aspirations.

5. Impact of Events in Neighbouring Territories on Local Opinion

Owing to the strict censorship exercised over the only important independent Arabic newspaper, practically no comment of this nature ever gets into print. It is, however, well known that the measure of self-government now enjoyed by the people of Cyrenaica and the rumours of progress made by the nationalist elements in other North African territories have added fire to the Moroccans' already ardent desire to be allowed to take a greater part in the administration of their country.

The Communist attack in Korea is regarded with disfavour. The same cannot, however, be said of the fighting in Viet-Nam which, being considered as a nationalist issue, enjoys the sympathy of the Nationalists here. It is also regarded by them as a factor in the weakening of France, from which they themselves may eventually reap some benefit.

6. Press

The press in general, and the Communist organ, *Les Nouvelles Marocaines,* in particular, show no hesitancy in publishing items which might tend to discredit the British in the eyes of their readers—though a very strict watch, and where necessary censorship, is obviously exercised over items which are likely to have a similar effect in regard to France. The only apparent exception to this order of things in recent weeks is the deletion by the censorship authorities of a presumably objectionable heading to a photograph published at Christmas time by the Communist paper referred to above.

7. His Majesty the Sultan

His Majesty's visit to Paris in the autumn caused considerable speculation in French and Moroccan circles alike—though, in the event, it is unlikely to bring any immediate results beyond an enormous increase in His Majesty's popularity with his people of all classes, which has already manifested itself.

The visit has been reported on at some length in my despatch No. 34 of 16th November, 1950.

The following incident, which is indirectly concerned with the visit and which my Vice-Consul learned about on 30th December, is worth mentioning in view of the repercussions which it may have. When the Sultan returned to Morocco after his visit to France, the Pasha of Marrakesh, Si Hadj Thami El Glaoui, remained in Paris for some days, during which he was lavishly fêted by the French and given costly presents. On his return to Morocco, he is alleged to have spread propaganda against His Majesty, saying that the latter had acted foolishly in asking for the abrogation of the 1912 Treaty. Furthermore, when a number of Nationalists were celebrating the anniversary of His Majesty's Accession to the Throne at a place near Marrakesh, the Pasha's Khalifa arrested and imprisoned them. A delegation subsequently came to Rabat and reported the incident to the Sultan, who on the occasion of the "Moulod," invited El Glaoui to present himself at the palace before the customary presentation of gifts ("Hediya") began. His Majesty spoke to him about the incident mentioned above and asked why the arrested men had not been released. El Glaoui replied that the Nationalists were becoming far too arrogant and took every opportunity to slander or insult him (El Glaoui) in conversation and in the press. His Majesty pointed out to him that his proper course was to obtain redress through the Law Courts. This reply appears to have incensed El Glaoui, who thereupon reprimanded His Majesty, pointing out the "error of his ways" in his pro-Nationalist tendencies and sympathies. His Majesty then revealed to El Glaoui that he had from time to time been approached by delegations from the latter's tribes, who complained of the harsh treatment which he metes out to them, and said that this state of affairs must cease. His Majesty terminated the audience by dismissing El Glaoui and ordering him to go back to his country without taking part in the "Hediya"; in other words, His Majesty refused to accept his gifts. Two or three of El Glaoui's sons failed to present themselves at the ceremony, although, according to the Nationalists, they should have done so in keeping with their position as Caids; the sons' excuse being that they could not absent themselves when their father was away.

According to the local press, Paris newspapers have put an entirely different complexion on the affair by asserting that it was El Glaoui who refused to take part in the "Moulod" celebrations because he does not agree with the nationalistic policy followed by His Majesty and the latter's entourage. I now see that the continental *Daily Mail* published a similar report on 3rd January.

8. Resident-General

On his return from Indo-China, General Juin stated to those who met him at the aerodrome: "I have come back and I am staying," and it does not, in fact, appear likely that the French Government will contemplate any change at the present juncture and undoubtedly the very powerful *colon* element will bring every possible pressure to bear on the French Government to keep him there. They are very nervous of the Nationalists and think that their only salvation is in a strong Resident-General with a strong policy.

An editorial which appeared in the Casablanca newspaper *Paris* on 1st December hinted that M. Marcel Peyrouton, who is now a resident of Morocco, would be eminently suited to fill the post of Resident-General once again.

9. Miscellaneous

Mr. David Bruce, United States Ambassador at Paris, came to French Morocco for Christmas, and all the local newspapers (particularly the Communist *Les Nouvelles Marocaines*) were agreed that his visit could not but have some political significance in view of the personalities (Mr. Churchill, General Juin, &c.) whom he was likely to meet. This was, however, subsequently denied, and equal publicity was given to the denial. My American colleague assured me that Mr. Bruce's visit was a private one. He only stayed a few hours in Rabat and then went to Marrakesh. He lunched privately with Mr. Churchill. He dined with the Pasha El Glaoui: this annoyed the Sultan who, my American colleague tells me, refused to see him when he asked for an audience.

The press follow Mr. Churchill's visit with close interest. He received an ovation on his appearance in the dining-room of the hotel on Christmas eve. He is seeing no one except officials and old friends.

His Majesty's Minister (Commercial), Mr. E. W. Meiklereid, paid an official visit and met a number of officials and business men. The atmosphere was friendly and the visit was a great success, a number of knotty points being settled.

Considerable publicity was given in all the local newspapers to the theft of the "Coronation Stone" from Westminster Abbey, most of the reports appearing to indicate a measure of sympathy with the motives underlying the theft.

JF 1022/9 No. 2

POLITICAL SITUATION

Consul-General Sir C. Cane to Mr. Bevin. (*Received 2nd February*)

(No. 5. Secret) *Rabat,*
(Telegraphic) *2nd February,* 1951.

My telegram No. 3.

Nationalist sources state that news of possible abdication of Sultan has spread with startling rapidity. Agitation is reported to be rising, especially at Fez, where French have asked leading Nationalists for reason for unrest. They stated that it is the unjust treatment of His Majesty.

2. Nationalists consider situation serious and will not predict repercussions if His Majesty dethroned. Consider all Europeans may be in danger. This is exaggerated as far as I can see as French authorities well able to handle disorders.

3. Strong rumours are current in Nationalist [? group omitted] that Juin's action has approval of His Majesty's Government and United States Government. I shall take no action on these rumours pending instructions from you.

4. His Majesty gave details to French paper, *Franc Tireur,* and when upbraided by French said they could not expect him to sit still and do nothing in such serious circumstances. He has also informed his entire family and Ben Ghabrit, Moroccan representative in Paris. French asked His Majesty to calm his people and he said that French were the cause of the trouble only favourable action by them could do this. The Acting Resident-General saw His Majesty on 31st January; no report of this meeting has yet reached me.

5. Egypt and Arab League have been informed and Azzam Pasha is reported to have called on United States Ambassador at Cairo and asked him for American intervention on His Majesty's behalf. The Egyptian Foreign Minister is said to have discussed the question at the last meeting of the League.

6. Nationalists are convinced that His Majesty will neither denounce nor agree to help disband the Istiqlal Party. If he did he would be completely discredited and a French puppet.

7. Nationalists think the French have His Majesty's brother, Moulay Idris, in view as his successor. He is a weakling of poor moral character, would be a French tool and would be used to embarrass the British and United States Governments. It is not clear how or why this should be done and I think it is simply a clumsy manœuvre to enlist both countries help.

8. Nationalists also think if His Majesty is dethroned and Istiqlal Party ruthlessly suppressed the Communists would become more powerful. I doubt this as Juin is strongly anti-Communist and would keep strong grip on known Communists and their activities.

9. Nationalists also state that Allies would find strong underground movements working against them as Moroccans would not forgive the French or the Allies if they co-operated with the former.

10. The Pasha of Marrakesh has been to Fez to enlist anti-Nationalist Berber leaders against His Majesty and is to travel all round the country on the same errand. He professes to be a loyal subject of His Majesty although he tells all caids that His Majesty should abstain from politics. The caids, all French appointed, are reported to have rallied to the pasha and sent a written declaration of support to the Residency.

11. 180 Ulemas (intellectuals who elect the Sultan) of Fez have sent His Majesty a declaration of loyalty. At the same time they have informed the Residency they are unanimously behind His Majesty and have reminded Juin that they alone are empowered to elect the Sultan. This may make it very awkward for the French to get their man elected if the necessity arises. The Pasha of Fez is supporting His Majesty openly. As the Ulemas meet at Fez to elect the Sultan this very strong pro-Sultan feeling may make considerable trouble for the French.

13. Moulay Hassan, His Majesty's eldest son, again appealed to my United States colleague, but the latter naturally refused to make any commitment.

JF 1022/44 No. 3

HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN FRENCH MOROCCO

Mr. Bevin to Consul-General Sir C. Cane (*Rabat*)

(No. 22) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *8th March,* 1951.

Your telegram No. 17 and my telegram No. 19.

I take strong exception to General Juin's insinuations. You should see him at the earliest opportunity and point out to him—

(*a*) That the B.B.C. is not an official organ of His Majesty's Government and operated entirely independently. We have, nevertheless, investigated the allegation that they broadcast such a report and have obtained their assurance after checking, that they never carried this story.

(*b*) That the suggestion that such news might have been broadcast by the B.B.C., with His Majesty's Government's assent and with the intention of stirring up trouble between France and the Arab States is not only unfounded, but is exactly the opposite of the truth, since all our efforts have been directed towards avoiding a clash between France and the Arab and Muslim Powers. The general's remarks about His Majesty's Consul at Fez are equally unworthy and I am glad to note you immediately rebutted them. We have all along made it clear that in His Majesty's Government's view relations between the French Government and the Sultan of Morocco were a French domestic affair, and we have scrupulously avoided being drawn into discussion of the situation. His Majesty's Government as a fellow colonial Power and ally, have merely tried to warn the French Government of the danger of allowing Morocco to become an international issue. Since, however, the Resident-General has seen fit to express these views, you may point out to him that despite our warnings, events appear to have followed the very course against which we tried to forewarn his Government. You may assure him that our attitude is unchanged, and that when the Secretary-General of the Arab League recently tried to enlist His Majesty's Government's interest in the Moroccan situation he was informed in unequivocal terms that we considered this to be an entirely domestic affair for the French Government and the Sultan of Morocco.

2. For your information we have discovered that a report of the bombardment of Fez was carried by the B.U.P. on 3rd March, quoting Cairo sources. The B.U.P. carried later on the same day the French official denial of this report, including a statement that this was one of a number of deliberately false reports being circulated by the North African Liberation Committee. Despite enquiries, we have hitherto been unable to confirm that any Middle East Station carried the alleged report. You may think it desirable to explain the above to the Resident-General.

JF 1022/61 No. 4

HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN FRENCH MOROCCO

Sir O. Harvey to Mr. Morrison. (*Received* 12*th March,* 1951)

(No. 80) *Paris,*
(Telegraphic) 12*th March,* 1951.

Your telegram No. 224 of 9th March: Morocco.

M. Schuman received me this morning when I told him of the allegations which General Juin had made to His Majesty's Consul-General at Rabat regarding the B.B.C. and His Majesty's Consul at Fez. I said that Sir Cyril Cane had been instructed upon General Juin's return to repudiate categorically these allegations and to explain

the nature of our policy as regards France and Morocco and the line we had consistently taken with the Arab and other Moslem States on the subject.

2. M. Schuman said that although he had seen General Juin he had not referred to the B.B.C., although he had mentioned His Majesty's Consul at Fez as having aroused suspicion, which, however, the general had added, had been disproved. I said that the general was no doubt somewhat overwrought, but that such charges were deeply resented. I recalled all the undertakings we had given of non-interference in French North African territory and said that if any evidence could be found of any improper activity by any of our people in these areas, I only asked that it should be brought to my attention so that it could be investigated. M. Schuman deprecated any such suggestions and said that they were too often put about by third parties.

3. As regards the Arab States, I drew attention to the excitement which had been caused by events in Morocco and the instructions which you had sent to all Arab and Moslem posts to calm opinion and discourage any ideas of bringing Morocco before the United Nations. M. Schuman said that, according to his information, the situation was calming down. For instance, King Farouk had spontaneously sent for the French Ambassador, and the Egyptian Ambassador had gone back to Cairo to report. I mentioned that the Egyptian Foreign Minister had spoken to His Majesty's Ambassador on the subject, and that he, too, was doing all he could to discourage any such decision being taken by the Arab League.

4. M. Schuman agreed as to the importance of maintaining a solid front with the Americans and of preventing the Arabs from driving wedges between us, which could only benefit the Soviets. He was well aware of the danger of an appeal to the United Nations, but thought that this, for the present, had diminished. He said that General Juin would not be taking any more repressive measures and he pointed to the undoubted fact that, in spite of all the agitation, there had not even been anybody wounded. Steps were being taken to arrange for a party of responsible Egyptian journalists to visit the country. One of the difficulties with the Sultan had been his refusal to sign the dahirs, many of which involved regulations in respect of prices and real estate to prevent exploitations of the people by profiteers.

JF 1013/7 No. 5

POLITICAL REPORT, JANUARY–MARCH 1951

Consul-General Sir C. Cane to Mr. Morrison. (Received 7th April)

(No. 16) *Rabat, 2nd April,* 1951

1. General

The greater part of the period under review has been taken up by a major political crisis involving a trial of strength between the Resident-General and the Sultan. This has been fully reported by telegram and despatch, and it will suffice here to say that, while the resulting effervescence has subsided locally for the time being, the danger of its bubbling to the surface again at any moment is still very real. The events in Morocco have had far-reaching repercussions, especially in Arab and Moslem countries, and it seems more than likely that one or more of those countries, if not the Arab League itself, will endeavour to raise the matter at the United Nations. The flame already kindled both inside and outside Morocco will doubtless be fanned by the series of articles which Egyptian and other foreign journalists are writing as the result of audiences which they have had with the Sultan and General Juin during recent visits to Rabat.

It must be stressed that the situation inside Morocco has remained perfectly quiet throughout, and that there have been no incidents directly attributable to the political crisis which have led to violence of any kind.

2. Activities of Political Parties

The Nationalist (Istiqlal) Party has come in for the main attack from the French in the crisis referred to above, and its activities have, under pressure from General Juin, been denounced by the Palace (though not specifically by name). Widespread, but peaceful, demonstrations, which the French admit they organised in the first place but

which are stated subsequently to have become spontaneous, have taken place allegedly against the party. It is, however, reliably reported that, apart from the leaders (who are, in any case, French " stooges "), the demonstrators were persuaded (or perhaps even forced) to participate because they were given to understand that the object was an entirely different one. It is, for instance, said that some were told that President Auriol was visiting the country and that they must therefore demonstrate.

In spite of numerous arrests amongst its officials and members, the Istiqlal Party has refused to let itself be tempted into violent action of any sort, and has confined itself to the distribution (where this has been possible, having regard to the stringent measures taken to prevent it) of objective communiqué setting forth its side of the dispute. It is jubilant over the hoped-for, but nevertheless somewhat unexpectedly strong, action taken by the Arab and Moslem countries over the Moroccan question; it is stated, moreover, that, as a result of this encouraging result, the party has not only received an unsolicited increase in its membership, but that the support of many of its existing members has become much more ardent than formerly.

The Democratic Party of Independence (Ouazzani) has kept completely in the background during the dispute; but it issued a strong proclamation on 30th March (the anniversary of the signing of the 1912 Treaty) calling on Moroccans to intensify their fight for independence and appealing to all free nations to assist them in ridding their country of the colonial régime imposed upon it by France.

3. Communist Activities

There has been no evidence of Communist activity during the period under review, with the exception of publicity which the local party newspaper gave to the visit to the U.S.S.R. at the end of 1950 of two delegates from Algeria. Alleged Communist support for the Istiqlal Party, which is strongly denied by it, has, however, been one of the main pegs on which the French have fastened their action against the latter.

4. Relations between Local Political Leaders and Parties and the French Administration

Relations between the Istiqlal Party and its leaders and the Administration are more bitter than ever as a result of the crisis referred to above. The French have taken stronger measures than they will admit to restrict the activities of the party.

5. Developments in French Administrative Policy, Proposals for Constitutional Reforms, &c.

The French profess anxiety to put into being the reforms decided upon as the result of the Sultan's visit to Paris last year, and are pressing the Sultan to sign dahirs to this end. His Majesty has signed a number of relatively unimportant ones concerning increase of rents, control of prices, appointment of pashas, &c.; but he is still refusing to agree to the important one creating municipal councils, since he is advised that by doing so he would, in effect, grant France equal civilian rights with Moroccans, which she does not possess under the 1912 Treaty, thus impinging on Moroccan sovereignty.

6. Impact of World Events and Events in Neighbouring Countries on Local Opinion

The recent reforms in Tunisia were fully reported in the local French press, but without comment. The Arabic Nationalist press is not allowed to publish such items at all; but this seems unimportant, as I understand that events of this nature, and indeed world events as a whole are at present completely overshadowed in the Moroccan's mind by the importance of the events which have recently taken place in, and in regard to, his own country. Any measures of independence granted by the French, wherever they may be, are, moreover, taken by the Moroccan with a grain of salt by comparison with similar action by the British, *e.g.*, in the Gold Coast.

The circumstances of the resignation of M. Naegelen, Governor-General of Algeria, called forth a bitter article in the French-language paper, *Maroc Presse*, which asked if France had fallen so low that even its governors-general had to lower themselves to the level of flunkeys in order to retain their posts.

7. Press

The local French press naturally fully reported on the recent crisis and, with the exception of *Maroc Socialiste* (the monthly organ of the local branch of the S.F.I.O.) was unanimous in its support of the action taken by General Juin. It also gave considerable prominence to such events as General Eisenhower's appointment in connexion with the defence of Western Europe, the meetings in Paris of the four Foreign Ministers' deputies,

the Cabinet and administrative crises in France, and the action of the Persian Government in regard to oil. Editorial comment has been confined to the *Echo du Maroc*, which carried an almost daily anti-Communist article, and which attributed the Persian Government's action to the short-sighted policy of His Majesty's Government, and to *Maroc Presse*, where Marcel Peyrouton seizes every opportunity to criticise certain high personages in France and to advertise his anti-British sentiments.

The Communist paper, *Les Nouvelles Marocaines*, decided to suspend publication on 10th January on the ground that too many difficulties, *e.g.*, electricity cuts, loss of telephone, &c., were being put in its way by the local authorities.

Censorship was extremely active in the height of the recent crisis, and occasional gaps in the local French newspapers show that even they are still not escaping the blue pencil.

8. The Sultan

It is reliably reported that, as a result of the recent crisis, His Majesty realises that he has gained a moral victory, and he may well feel strengthened to resist future demands if made by the French. It is reported that his prestige with his subjects has been considerably enhanced, despite the fact that he appears to have had to give way to the French on the majority of their recent demands.

Relations between His Majesty and El Glaoui are reported to be even worse than they were at the end of last year.

9. Resident-General

All reports show that General Juin took very strong action with the Sultan at the beginning of the recent crisis, but he now says that he only intervened in order to arbitrate between His Majesty and the Moroccans and in order to protect His Majesty, who was in danger of being dethroned by his own subjects. There seems little doubt that (probably as the result of American and British intervention in Paris) he did not receive such full support from his Government as he had anticipated.

General Juin's impending departure from Morocco as the result of his appointment to General Eisenhower's staff, has given rise to much speculation as to who his successor will be. There is little doubt that locally there would be much disgruntlement, and probably friction, if the French Government decided to appoint a civilian to the post—a possibility which is understood to be under consideration.

General Boyer de la Tour was recently appointed to assist the Resident-General in putting the proposed reforms into effect.

10. Miscellaneous

The press continued to follow Mr. and Mrs. Churchill's visit to Marrakesh with close interest until it came to an end.

A number of foreign (including British) newspaper correspondents have recently been, and still are, visiting Morocco to enquire into the truth of the Moroccan crisis. They appear to be receiving all possible facilities from the French authorities. All the British journalists called at the consulate-general and the situation was discussed with them by the consul-general. They have also seen numerous Moroccans, but none have seen the Sultan, only members of his entourage. The papers represented were:—

The Times,
The Manchester Guardian,
Daily Telegraph,
Observer,
Sunday Times, and
The Economist.

The correspondent of the Pakistan paper, *Dawn*, also called and gave to the consul-general his views on the Moroccan situation.

JF 1022/101 No. 6

FRENCH POLICY TOWARDS MOROCCO

Sir O. Harvey to Mr. Morrison. (*Received* 11*th April*)

(No. 169) *Paris,*
Sir, *7th April*, 1951.

With reference to recent correspondence on the Moroccan situation, I have the honour to report that on 6th April M. Schneiter, the acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a statement on French policy towards Morocco, in answer to a question on the subject by a Communist Deputy in the National Assembly.

2. The statement runs as follows:—

"By the Treaty of Fez of 1912 the Sultan made over to the French Republic his powers regarding the military occupation of the territory and the maintenance of order. It is by virtue of this agreement that the use of certain bases has been conceded to the American forces in order to integrate Morocco into the Western European–North African defence sector.

"As to 'repressive measures,' these only exist in the frantic imagination of a few journalists. The Residency-General has only placed one individual under restricted residence and made sixteen arrests for breach of laws on the press and the right of public assembly. No prosecution is being undertaken on political grounds.

"Censorship will be lifted progressively. The propagators of tendentious news are the only people responsible for delay in this direction.

"The news of large-scale dismissals of workers are without foundation, and France has not interfered in any way with religious freedom.

"Since Moroccan public opinion condemned the activity of several despised parties and certain evil advisers in the Sultan's entourage, the Resident-General was forced to intervene as a mediator with the Sultan. He put no pressure on him. It is untrue that the Sultan was interned in his palace or that there has been any movement of troops.

"Morocco is not represented by a handful of unlicensed agitators. The French Government has always said that the Treaty of 1912 would pass away when the political conscience of the Moroccan population had attained sufficient maturity for the empire of the Sultan to administer its own affairs. Certain democratic reforms have already been submitted to the Sultan, and the training of leaders is going ahead actively.

"France would compromise her work if she handed over the Moroccan administration to men who were not qualified to carry it on, or to people attached to feudal prejudices."

3. While members of the Quai d'Orsay have spoken of eventual Moroccan self-government in the remote future ("ten, fifteen or twenty years"), and M. Schuman, addressing the M.R.P. National Council meeting in January, spoke of the formation of real Governments and autonomous Administrations in Morocco and Tunisia, M. Schneiter's remarks on the disappearance of the 1912 Treaty go further, so far as we can trace, than anything yet said officially to Parliament on the subject.

4. I am copying this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives in Cairo, Karachi, New Delhi and Rabat.

I have, &c.
OLIVER HARVEY.

THIS IS A COPY
THE ORIGINAL HAS BEEN RETAINED
IN THE DEPARTMENT UNDER SECTION
3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958

12

JF 1013/12

No. 8

POLITICAL REPORT, APRIL–JUNE 1951

Consul-General Sir C. Cane to Mr. Morrison. (*Received 28th July*)

(No. 24) *Rabat,* 17*th July,* 1951.

1. General

By comparison with the previous quarter, the political situation in the French Zone of Morocco has been very quiet. In spite of the apparent calm, however, there have been many indications that the effervescence resulting from the events of the earlier part of the year has by no means subsided and that it may bubble up again at any moment.

Several foreign, including British journalists have visited the Zone to report on the events referred to above, particularly the alleged bombing of Fez, and much has consequently been written in the foreign press on the subject. Such articles have, however, inevitably been influenced by the persons whom the journalists have been able to contact and by the amount of freedom of conversation allowed during their interviews. His Majesty the Sultan was careful, in such audiences as he accorded, to give written replies to the questions put to him. A number of Egyptian journalists, who got as far as Tangier, were refused permission to enter the French Zone because they insisted on travelling as a party instead of individually at intervals, as required by the French authorities. The Sultan's representative in Tetuan decorated several of them before they returned to Egypt.

It is clear that there has been much unrest amongst tribes in the Atlas, though little has been published on the subject.

Great Britain is, as usual, frequently accused of playing a deep game in regard to Morocco.

2. Activities of Political Parties

The Istiqlal Party's overt activities *inside* the zone have, of necessity, been considerably reduced as a result of the restriction of movement placed on its leaders by the French authorities—though information is still disseminated by means of a bulletin produced clandestinely. Allal el Fassi has, however, according to all reports, been very active in his retreat in Tangier, and there is no doubt that the party is still very much alive. The Executive Committee in Rabat sent a circular telegram to various foreign Governments and bodies early in June protesting against alleged French atrocities and repressive action in the Atlas region. The signatory, Haj Omar ben Abdel Jellil, acting secretary of the party, was at once arrested and has since been sentenced to three months' imprisonment; he is understood to have appealed against the sentence. Four of the leading members of the party who were charged with distributing subversive tracts were sentenced to a fine of 100,000 francs and three months' prison, but "*avec sursis*"; they had spent two months in prison awaiting trial.

There has been no evidence of any activity by the other political parties inside the French Zone, but considerable publicity was given to the pact signed in Tangier in April between the four Nationalist leaders.

3. Communist Activities

Nothing to report.

A well-known Communist who escaped into the Atlas region about two years ago and who may well be responsible for some of the unrest there has at last been captured.

4. Relations between Local Political Leaders and Parties and the French Administration

The main activities of the political parties are now centred in Tangier owing to the repressive measures taken against the leaders by the French. Relations between such officials of the Istiqlal Party as are still at liberty in the French Zone are very strained, and swift and severe action is taken against them whenever opportunity offers. Numerous arrests of members of the party are alleged to be taking place frequently in outlying districts.

5. Developments in French Administrative Policy, Proposals for Constitutional Reforms, &c.

The French are still said to be pressing the Sultan to sign dahirs instituting reforms which they consider necessary. While His Majesty has signed a number of relatively unimportant ones, he steadfastly refuses to put his seal to any, *e.g.*, that for the creation of municipal councils, which, he is advised, encroach upon Moroccan sovereignty.

6. Impact of World Events and Events in Neighbouring Countries on Local Opinion

The only opinion which can be expressed freely is, of course, French. Considerable publicity has been given to such events as the removal of General MacArthur from Japan, the situation in Korea and the Persian oil dispute; but editorial comment has, as usual, been made by *L'Echo du Maroc* and *Maroc Presse*. Both papers agreed that General MacArthur's policy was extremely dangerous, but, while the former welcomed his sudden removal, the latter felt that it was in fact too sudden and possibly also too severe.

L'Echo du Maroc, which always sees the Soviet finger in any unpalatable new pie which makes its appearance, attributed the trouble in Persia to Russian intrigue—though it was strongly of the opinion that the past attitude of the A.I.O.C. (and consequently of the British Government) had not only made such intrigue possible but had practically invited it.

While the same paper welcomes the armistice talks in Korea, it is sceptical of the good faith of the Communists and wonders whether reliance could be placed on any agreement arrived at. Both newspapers welcomed the belated British decision to stop essential supplies reaching the Chinese Communists, and were agreed that this was due only to the fact that Britain had at last realised that she could no longer stand alone. They were glad to note that America and Britain were "reunited," though it was apparent that this sentiment was prompted more because of the potential benefit to France than to the free world.

As was to be expected, the French elections were fully reported and commented on. Satisfaction was expressed that several of those Deputies who supported the Istiqlal Party had lost their seats.

The disappearance of the two members of His Majesty's Foreign Service was given heavy headlines which gradually diminished in size as time went on and interest began to lag. *Maroc Presse* saw the disappearance as the result of what it alleged was the present tendency of all Governments to allow their officials to indulge in politics. It described the Secretary of State's statement in the House of Commons in regard to Messrs. MacLean's and Burgess's political opinions as "sober, frank, evasive and embarrassed."

The trouble in Tunis between the Bey and the French Administration was reported at some length, but without comment.

7. Press

Censorship continues in force, in spite of rumours earlier in the year that it was to be abolished. It is applied mainly to the Arabic Nationalist paper, *Al Alam*, but shows itself occasionally in the French language press which from to time obviously manages to obtain local news prematurely or wishes to express ultra-severe criticism of measures which the French Administration have either taken or failed to take.

The evening newspaper, *Le Petit Marocain*, announced on 1st June that it had taken legal action against a morning paper which for some time past, has been using the same name. Pending the conclusion of the case, it had decided to suspend publication, and it hoped to reappear in due course in an entirely different form. (It is understood that a fusion with *Maroc Presse* is envisaged.)

8. The Sultan

His Majesty's relations with the Resident-General are undoubtedly still strained, though there has been no outward sign of this during past weeks. He is said to have repulsed advances made to him by El Glaoui, who is alleged to be getting tired of the French and to wish to make his peace with His Majesty.

The Sultan wanted to send some of his family to attend the wedding of King Farouk, but was only allowed to send the Pasha of Fez, who took with him a present from His Majesty.

9. Resident-General

It now seems certain that, in spite of the heavy pressure brought to bear by the local French population and of his own strong feelings on the subject, General Juin will not be permitted to combine his functions as Resident-General with those allocated to him in connexion with the defence of Europe. Rumour, which two months ago indicated that he would remain in Rabat for some time, now has it that he will leave very shortly and that the actual date of his departure will depend on the decision to be taken by the new French Cabinet as to who shall succeed him in Rabat. Many names, such as MM. Parodi, Jacquinot, Lacoste and Voizard and Generals de Lattre de Tassigny, Duval and Guillaume, have been mentioned; but it would seem probable that the choice will, in fact, fall upon a general and Guillaume is the favourite. Stress is laid on the importance of appointing someone who

has a wide and intimate knowledge of the problems to be found in North Africa.

10. Miscellaneous

A series of armed attacks, in which persons (all French) were murdered and wounded, took place in the Kasba-Tadla area at Whitsun. After an intensive man-hunt lasting about a fortnight, two Moroccans were arrested and are said to have confessed to the crimes for which they gave no other reason than that "God willed it." Nationalist sources allege, however, that the crimes were in fact engineered by the French themselves in order to give them an excuse to increase the size of the areas under military rule in the Atlas. The accused men have recently been handed over by the civil courts for trial by the military.

Moroccans are very irritated at certain measures approved by the French authorities and which make life more difficult for them. They feel, for instance, that the recent increase in the cost of electric current was brought into effect at the beginning of June solely because they have to use more electric light during the month of Ramadan (when they eat only from sunset to dawn) which commenced on 8th June. They have decided to close their shops on Fridays, in spite of pressure from the French, who said that if they wished to close at all they should do so on Saturdays or Sundays; their reply is alleged to have been that they are neither Jews nor Christians, but Moslems.

Considerable publicity was given, but without comment, to the restoration of the Coronation Stone, the death of Mr. Ernest Bevin, the signature of the "Schuman Treaty," the loss of the submarine *Affray*, the agreement for the defence of the Pacific and the resignation of Mr. Aneurin Bevin.

CE 113100/150

No. 9

THE MOROCCO ITEM ON THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AGENDA

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to Mr. Eden. (*Received* 14*th December*)

United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations,
Paris,
13*th December*, 1951.

(No. 95)
(Telegraphic)

My telegram No. 28, Saving: Morocco.

General Assembly decided on 13th December to accept the recommendation of the General Committee (that consideration of the question of placing the item on the agenda be postponed). Voting was 28 in favour, 23 against and 7 abstentions.

2. Report follows saving.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JF 1012/2

No. 10

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN FRENCH MOROCCO

Sir C. Cane to Mr. Eden. (*Received* 5*th December*)

Rabat,
17*th September*, 1951.

(No. 33. Confidential)
Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith copies of my Personalities Report for the French Zone of Morocco.

2. Several of the leading members of the Protectorate being on the eve of departure or having already left, are not included in this list.

I have, &c.
CYRIL H. CANE.

Enclosure in No. 10

Leading Personalities in French Morocco

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7. Balafrej, Hadj Ahmed.
8. Benabdjelil, Hadj Omar.
9. Benjelloun, Abdelkrim.
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12. El Glaoui, Hadj Thami.
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Arab Personalities

1. His Majesty The Sultan

Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef V.

Aged 40 years. Enthroned 18th November, 1927. Temporal and spiritual leader of Morocco, governing approximately 8 million subjects. Aims at democracy and is recognised leader of progress; fights against illiteracy by opening schools. Refuses to sign Dahirs detrimental to the welfare of his subjects. His Tangier speech and visit to Paris have endeared him to his people. In favour of Arab League and democracy. Is pro-British and American. The Sultan is not anti-French but anti-French policy. Aims at peace through negotiation. Married: two sons, three daughters.

2. Prince Moulay Hassan

Described as "Prince-Héritier" or Heir Apparent, although legally he is not, as Sultans are elected. Eldest son of Sultan. Twenty-two years. Studying law. Very pro-Nationalist, following his father in his aspirations. Becoming more and more in contact with affairs; presides at many functions. Keen athlete, rider. Pro-British; studying English. Not anti-French, but anti-French policy. No close friendships but "helpful" friends. Entitled: His Imperial Highness. Single.

3. Princess Lalla Aisha

Eldest daughter of Sultan. Nineteen years. Symbol of women's liberation. Public speaker (unveiled). Appeared first in June 1943. Primary Certificate—preparing her baccalauriat. Takes active part in public meetings. Speaks English. Single.

4. Bahnini, Ahmed (Fez)
A lawyer. One of the prominent nationalist leaders in Fez. Aged about 40. Married. Elder brother of Mohammed Bahnini who was recently appointed Vizir du Palais in Rabat. Very polite but not very talkative. It is difficult to know what he thinks. He is not considered honest.

5. Bahnini, Hadj Mohammed (Rabat)
Aged 35. Rank—Director of Sultan's Cabinet. Originated from Fez where he studied. At Rabat, while studying law and literature, was employed as secretary and judge of the Cherifian High Court. 1943: professor of literature at Imperial College of Moulay Hassan. Member of many commissions appointed by the Sultan to study French texts (law). Very strong controversialist, very pro-Nationalist but not member of party. Authority on classical literature. Accompanied Sultan to France and played an important rôle in deliberations between the Sultan and French. Single.

6. Bahraoui, Hadj Driss (Rabat)
Aged 70. Rich farmer. Pro-Nationalist and pro-British. Entertains lavishly British visitors to Rabat, including celebrities such as Sir Duff and Lady Diana Cooper. He is a great philanthropist. Married. No children.

7. Balafrej, Hadj Ahmed (Rabat)
Aged 44. Studied at Sorbonne—law and literature. Spent one year in Cairo. Founder of the first modern Moroccan school in 1934. While in Paris as a student, he directed the political *Review Moghreb*. 1936 directed a weekly newspaper of the Nationalist Party (*Action Populaire*). Travelled to Paris on several occasions to intervene on behalf of imprisoned Nationalists. Well known to the Socialists in France. After 1937 repressions he escaped to Paris to defend the members of the party. In 1939 he was obliged to leave Paris for Switzerland for health reasons and during the German occupation of France, he came to Tangier from where he wrote to the party about the international situation and especially about the German danger threatening Morocco. In February 1943 he was permitted to return to Rabat from Tangier (*i.e.*, following the American landing). In January 1944 he directed the Istiqlal Movement and was arrested by military instructions. No charges were made against him. Exiled to Corsica until June 1946. He is secretary-general of the Istiqlal Party. Married. Five children.

8. Benabdjelil, Hadj Omar (Casablanca)
Aged 45. Studied in France at Agricultural School (Engineering). Began early in political affairs. He also organised movement against the "Dahir Berbère" in 1930. Signed and presented the Plan de Réforme Marocain in 1934. Travelled to France to intervene on behalf of Moroccan political prisoners. 1937, he was exiled until 1940. Member of the Executive Committee of the Istiqlal Party. Went to Paris in 1946 to explain the Moroccan situation to the French Government. Now living at Boulhaut and acting as manager of the farm of Abdel Aziz El Alami of Casablanca, who is a merchant on a large scale. Married. Three children.

9. Benjelloun, Abdelkrim (Fez)
Aged 40. Studied law and literature in Morocco. Judge at the Cherifian High Court until 1944, when he was dismissed because he signed the manifesto addressed to the Sultan. Became lawyer and went to Paris in 1946 for information on French opinion on Moroccan questions. 1944 a member of the Executive Committee of the Istiqlal Party and now lives in Fez. Married just recently.

10. Chiguer, Messaoud
Aged 45. Originates from Petitjean region. Studied law in Rabat and became secretary of the Direction des Affaires Chérifiennes for fifteen years. 1944 was dismissed because of his signature of Istiqlal manifesto. Recalled 1946 to become Secretary of Grand Vizier until 1950, when he was appointed assistant to Bahnini, and like Bahnini was member of various commissions. Member of Istiqlal Party. Married. Five children.

11. Demnati, Lahoussine
Caid. Lives in Taroudant with his French wife. Is well placed in finance and mining affairs and has considerable local influence.

12. El Glaoui, Hadj Thami (Marrakesh)
Aged over 70. Pasha of Marrakesh. Probably the most powerful native in Morocco, with the possible exception of the Sultan. Arrangements are made that he should be on good terms with French, since he controls whole of the south. Friendly towards Britain, which he often visits. Has many sons, who will provide a fine succession problem.

13. El Laraki, Mohamed (Casablanca)
Aged about 70. President of Moroccan Chamber of Commerce. One of few Moors who appear at general official functions. Seems well disposed towards British, but "under orders."

14. El Mokri, Hadj Hamad (Casablanca)
Aged about 70. Pasha of Casablanca for about a year. Member of one of the biggest Moorish families. Appears to be friendly to British, but not a very strong personality. Is presumed to get along well with the French.

15. El Mokri, Hadj Mohamed, Grand Vizier (Rabat)
Prime Minister. Reckoned to be about 108 years of age. Was present at Algerian Conference 1906 and also at the signing of the treaty in 1906. Pro-French but with great respect for the Royal Family. Intransigeant about Mokhzen tradition. Very conservative. Anti-progressive. Has been Prime Minister since 1912 (was Minister before 1912). Married—many sons. One Pasha of Casablanca, one of Safi (Tieb), one Délégué of Ministry of Finance (Thami). Has daughters married to Pashas; one to El Glaoui, Pasha of Marrakesh, the elect son of this marriage being the Grand Vizier's favourite grandson. Originated from Algeria.

16. Hajji, Hadj Ahmed (Rabat)
Aged 80. Owned the daily newspaper *El Moghreb*, which was suppressed in 1944. Proprietor of printing house. Married. Five sons (two deceased). Very pro-British and visits the B.I.F. annually accompanied by one of his sons. Has been presented to the King and Queen. Entertains British visitors to Rabat. Lives at Salé.

17. Hajjoui, Si
Minister of Justice. About 80 years of age. At the beginning was Delegate of Education for Morocco and later became Minister of Justice in 1944. He is pro-French and not well liked by the Sultan, because he is the mouth-piece of the French. On several occasions the Sultan has tried to engineer his retirement. Married and has at least four sons, one of whom is the Pasha of Oujda, who was attacked in the Mosque during the Djerrada Uprising in July 1948.

18. Kettani, Abdelhai (Fez)
Cherifian head of the Kettani brotherhood. Extremely well read and up to date in politics and history. On extremely bad terms with the Istiqlal Party and the Sultan. Lives in a large house near Bab Ftouh in Fez, which is almost a museum and contains a very valuable Arabic library.

19. Laghzaoui, Mohammed (Rabat)
One of the most fanatical leaders of the Istiqlal Party. Married to the daughter of the late Ahmed Bouayed, a British naturalised person. He made a vast fortune since the war. He is on familiar terms with the Sultan, to whom he frequently offers valuable presents. His main business is public transport (passengers and goods).

20. Lyazidi, Mohamed (Rabat)
Aged 50. Studied in Morocco at the Collège Moulay Youssef and Hautes Etudes Marocaines. Began as interpreter with the French administration. Wrote political articles to Algerian newspapers and directed the movement against the "Dahir Berber" in Rabat. He resigned from the administration and was exiled to Sagharna near Marrakesh in 1930. He stayed there two years and was afterwards a member of the Comité d'Action Marocain. Was one of the signatories of the Plan de Réforme Marocaine. He was arrested in 1936 and imprisoned for some weeks at Casablanca for having organised a meeting for the freedom of the press. Released after the intervention of Balafrej in Paris. He was editor of the Arab weekly—*l'Atlas*. In 1937 exiled again to Tinghir and later Azilal until 1941. Member of the Executive Committee of the Istiqlal Party. 1947 was editor of *Opinion du Peuple*. Known for being strongly anti-Communist. Married. One child.

21. Maameri, Si (Rabat)
Aged 70. Came to Morocco from Algeria before 1912 as interpreter. 1914 employed professor in Collège Moulay Youssef. Became "tutor" of the children of Moulay Youssef 1927. Became Chief of Protocol of the Sultan 1944. Badly beaten during insurrection of 1944. After constitution of Sultan's Cabinet he has only responsibility of protocol and interpreting. Title: Vizier of Imperial House. Pro-French. Loyally attached to Sultan. Married, no children. No friends. Has Grand Cordon of Legion of Honour.

22. Marnissi, Mohammed (Fez)
Of humble origin, has made a large fortune. A shrewd old man with plenty of common sense, disliked by the old-established families of Fez. He originates from Marnissa. He is Président de la Chambre d'Agriculture Marocaine.

23. Sebti, Hadj Omar (Fez)
Fez businessman, with one of the largest fortunes in Morocco. Was president of Chamber of Commerce and resigned in 1949 for being violently criticised by his countrymen for having made a speech which was interpreted as too pro-French. Is also an active member of Istiqlal Party which he supports financially. An opportunist.

24. Sliman, Hadj el Fatmi ben (Rabat)
Appointed Pasha of Fez in 1946. Is now leaving Fez for Rabat to take up a post at the Sultan's Palace. Aged about 50–55. Very pleasant personality, speaking excellent French. Very religious and devoted to the Sultan. Closely watched by the French. Has two children educated in France.

25. Tazi, Mohamed (Fez)
Brother of Mendoub of Tangier. Old-established Makhzen family of Fez. Intelligent and energetic but disgruntled at no longer being the Pasha. Disliked by the Nationalists. Lives in a new palace, of not very good taste, on the border of the Medina.

French Personalities

1. Aymard, Camille (Casablanca)
Aged over 60. Director of *Paris*, a weekly newspaper. Out and out pro-Vichy with a powerful and vitriolic pen. His paper circulates in France and North Africa. Not popular with Free French, and not pro-British.

2. Bars, Yves (Casablanca)
Aged about 55. Inspecteur Général des Ponts et Chaussées. Suffers from ill-health, but seems capable and fairly co-operative. As Director of the Port of Casablanca he is of importance in the shipping world. Married.

3. Boniface, Philippe (Casablanca)
Aged about 60. Chef de Région. Long administrative experience in Morocco, including Directeur de l'Intérieur in Rabat. Is well liked by French, but hated by the Sultan because of his opposition to teaching of Berbers by Arabs. Definitely pro-British and co-operative. Married. Expected to retire next year.

4. Boulet, Desbarreaux (Fez)
Colonel, Chef du Cercle at Taounate. Aged about 45–48. An austere, quiet man, with a good record during the fighting in Morocco. He is considered a good administrator and a man of integrity. He has recently taken up his post at Taounate, having come from Boumalne. He has an attractive wife a good deal younger than himself.

5. Butzer, Emile (Fez)
Colonel. Adjoint to the Chef de Région in Fez. Aged about 54. An excellent officer of the old type. Fought in the 1914 war and has had over thirty years' continuous service in Morocco. Strong, intelligent, agreeable and very talkative. Entertains well and has a charming wife and a three-year-old son. Is very popular among the local Moroccans and speaks their language well; is believed to be pro-British. Speaks no English but probably German. Is hoping to get the post of Director of Security at Rabat on retirement when the present Director leaves.

6. Cabail, L. (Casablanca)
Aged over 50. A Corsican, he is chief of police in Casablanca and second in importance to Chef de la Sécurité, Rabat. Friendly disposed towards British, he does not impart much information, and reports all enquiries. Long experience of Morocco, and is said to be rather harsh in dealing with Arabs. Married.

7. Cahuzac, Albert (Casablanca)
Aged over 50. He is Director of Customs. Definitely friendly and co-operative towards British. Used to be in Senegal and knows some of British West African territories quite well. Is said to be increasing his Arab cadre in Customs. Bachelor.

8. Couste, Jean (Casablanca)
Aged about 55, he holds the title of Délégué aux Affaires Urbaines, and ranks with but after the Chef de Région. Long experience of Morocco and speaks Arabic well. Popular with Arabs and French, he and his wife are definitely pro-British. Two daughters.

9. Dessaignes (Fez)
Colonel, Chef du Cercle de Sefrou. Aged about 55. A genial talkative officer who served in the 1914–18 war and since then exclusively in Morocco. A good administrator who seems to be efficient without being outstandingly intelligent. Has a very charming Norwegian wife and both entertain well and are popular in Fez but not very much so in the territory under his control. Appears to be pro-British. Speaks Norwegian, Arabic, but no English. His only son is now doing his military service in Morocco.

10. Epinat, Jean (Casablanca)
Aged about 70. Biggest businessman of all, with great holdings in C.T.M., Omnium Nord Africain, Mining. Active interest has been handed to M. G. J. Painvin, a banker. Epinat was a collaborationist.

11. Esteve (Rabat)
Délégué aux Affaires Urbaines. Is one notch above Roblot. Is a widower—his wife was killed in an aeroplane accident. Is friendly and helpful. In his early fifties.

12. Fabre (Rabat)
Directeur-Général of Radio Maroc. An intelligent young man in his thirties. Just arrived here and very willing to co-operate with us. Radio Maroc has close contacts with B.B.C.

13. Faivre, Henri (Casablanca)
Aged about 50. Big business, vice-president, Comité Central des Industriels, manager of Brasseries du Maroc, Industrie Cotonnière Marocaine (cotton) and has some interest in S.C.U.P.A. (Brasserie Argentine Quilnès). Friendly to British he was very helpful during last war.

14. Georges (Fez)
Colonel, Chef du Territoire d'Ouezzane. Until quite recently was secretary-general of the Région de Fez. An efficient officer, cordially disliked by most of his staff owing to his uneven temper due to stomach ulcers. People who know him well say he is a good loyal friend but that he is extremely difficult to deal with. Amiable enough socially, he will talk after a few drinks but gives an impression of insincerity. Very disgruntled at his transfer to Ouezzane. Has a long-suffering wife and two small children. No English. His ruling passion is shooting and fishing.

15. Genard (Casablanca)
Président du Tribunal. Is believed to be ineffective and weak. Political sympathies would probably vary with circumstances, but has shown himself co-operative towards consulate. Married with one daughter.

16. Girard, O.B.E. (Rabat)
Directeur-Général des Travaux Publics. A very pro-British and friendly man with a nice wife and family. The eldest daughter spent a year in Scotland recently. His department purchases considerable quantities of British heavy goods. Is in his fifties. Was created honorary O.B.E. for work done at Bône in Algeria during the war. Speaks very little English.

17. Gradis, Gaston (Casablanca)
Aged about 50; big business, with large backing in Brasseries du Maroc, Comptoir Français du Maroc. He is an international financier, with politics accordingly.

18. Granger (Fez)
Colonel. Commands the 25e Groupement d'Infanterie at Fez. Aged about 50. A rigid, humourless officer of the old school, unpopular with his brother officers who admit however that he is the most able tactician in Morocco and would doubtless have been promoted general, but for the fact that he was General Giraud's son-in-law. He is a widower with four children—his wife was taken by the Germans as a hostage with the children in 1942 and she subsequently died in a concentration camp. He is obsessed by this tragedy, lives a very secluded life and tries to cope, not very successfully, with his four rather independent children. Very religious with the highest moral principles and an overwhelming sense of duty. Speaks German but no English. Appears to be pro-British, and is one of the rare French officers who is anything but a defeatist.

19. Grillet (Casablanca)
Aged about 50. Chef de la Commission Municipale. Is reported to be a good administrator, and, though lacking in personality, popular with French. Poiltical leanings unknown, but would probably be co-operative in minor points. Comes under M. Cousté. Married.

20. d'Hauteville (Casablanca)
General. Aged about 60. Chef de Région of Marrakech. Capable administrator he was strongly pro-Vichy. He has, however, remained in his present post for about six years. Of doubtful popularity with anybody. Married.

21. Homberger (Rabat)
Maître. Our legal adviser. A pleasant, friendly man, very keen on bridge. Fairly intelligent. Runs two establishments openly, namely, his wife and mistress. Has no legitimate but several illegitimate children. In his sixties. Does not speak English.

22. Lamy (Rabat)
Directeur-Général de Finance. An able, pleasant and friendly young man in his thirties. Has spent some time in the United States and speaks English well. He and his department are always ready to co-operate. Is married and his wife also speaks English.

23. de Langlade (Casablanca)
General. Aged over 50. Has been in command for under a year, but is capable and intelligent aristocrat of old school. Good war record, he was in United Kingdom during the war and likes the British. Co-operative. Married but separated.

24. Laparra, Arnaud (Fez)
General, Chef de la Région de Fez. Aged about 58. Very pro-British and pro-American and is criticised by the local French for being too pro-Arab. Socially he is extremely agreeable and hospitable, good looking and genial. Not particularly intelligent but probably shrewd enough. He is a widower with four daughters and his only son who is a lieutenant in the army has just volunteered for Indo-China and has left for that country. Laparra is easy going and popular with his staff. Rumour has it that he accepts bribes. He speaks German, English, Polish and some Arabic. He enjoys a party and drinks in moderation and is unusually accessible for a man in his position. He was French Military Attaché in Warsaw before the war—observer in Athens with a Commission supervising Greek Elections. Was in London with General de Gaulle and fought in the Italian Campaign. Also fought in the 1914–18 war. Due to retire in about a year.

25. Leussier, (Rabat)
Directeur-Général de Sécurité of Morocco. Over 60. Friendly on the surface. Speaks English. Is divorced and is alleged to be a homo-sexual. May be retired by the new Resident-General.

26. Lyautey, Pierre (Casablanca)
Aged about 60. Lives in Marrakesh. Nephew of Maréchal Lyautey, he enjoys considerable influence on the strength of his connexions. President of Association des Alsaciens-Lorrains, he fought in World War I, but is reputed to have collaborated in World War II. Intelligent, his political leanings are probably unreliable. Married.

27. Marill, Honoré (Casablanca)
Aged about 60. Capable, and of long experience at his job, he has been President of the Chamber of Commerce for several years, and enjoys prestige. Outspoken, he remains popular and respected. Has close connexions with port (silo), and Foire de Casablanca. Pro-British. Unmarried.

28. Mas, A. (Casablanca)
Aged about 50. Editor of *Petit Marocain—Le Progrès Marocain,* which has been recently restarted. He owns printing press and Banque Mas. Collaborationist. His son Yves speaks good English, but they are both doubtful politically.

29. Matte, Marcel (Fez)
Fez Urban Civilian Controller. A quiet, intelligent, self-effacing man who seems to have a good reputation locally and does not accept bribes. He is pleasant and easy to deal with. Reasonably pro-British, claims to have served with Lawrence of Arabia in the first war. He is married and has a son studying medicine in Paris.

30. Mazoyer (Rabat)
Directeur de l'Information at the Residency. Was here during the Nogues régime and was strongly pro-Nazi. Is obviously very anti-British and the relations between his office, which were excellent in his predecessor's time, have very seriously deteriorated. Entirely untrustworthy and is detested by the Moroccans and accused of having started the Fez bombardment rumour. A thoroughly nasty piece of work.

31. Miguel (Casablanca)
General. Aged about 55. Chef de Région of Agadir-Confins. Capable and pleasant, he seems much more of an administrator than a politician. Political leanings probably incline to friendliness with the United Kingdom.

32. Moins (Rabat)
Chef de Région. A large, pleasant, if somewhat dull, fellow in his fifties. Has a pleasant wife. Neither speak English, but are friendly.

33. Noel (Casablanca)
Lieutenant-colonel. Aged about 50. Chief of the Air-base, military side; he has been here only a few months, and is subordinate to General in Command. Not very much known about him, but seems pleasant enough. Married with several children.

34. Peyrouton, Marcel (Casablanca)
Aged about 60. Former Resident-General, Ministre de l'Intérieur in France under Pétain. Ambassador in Argentine, and imprisoned for several years. Now living in Casablanca with connexions in France-Auto (cars), he has just taken over *Maroc-Presse*. Very good administrator, politically damaged by imprisonment. Leanings uncertain.

35. Roblot (Rabat)
Chef des Services Municipaux. A pleasant man in his sixties. Solid and plodding. Is friendly. Has a wife who enjoys very poor health. Always helpful.

36. Dubois-Roquebert (Rabat)
Doctor. Principal surgeon here and has largest private clinic. Is surgeon to the Sultan. His assistant, Dr. Gorse, is reputed to be a good surgeon also. Is one of our panel doctors.

37. Sala (Casablanca)
Vice-Amiral. Aged about 50. Newly appointed as Commandant la Marine au Maroc, he has an excellent reputation and career, being highly regarded by British Admiralty. Has spent some nine years in Britain, and is friendly and co-operative. Married with children.

38. Spitzer (Rabat)
Directeur-Général de la Banque d'Etat du Maroc. In his fifties. Is very friendly, very rich. His wife, who is charming, is one of the best-dressed women in Rabat. Is not popular with most of the officials as he has no use for their *bourgeois* outlook and ignores them. He speaks no English, but his wife does. Spends a lot of time in Tangier and Paris.

39. Thabault (Rabat)
Directeur-Général de l'Instruction Publique. In late fifties. Pleasant, speaks English, having studied in London. His department has a lot of teachers with Communist and radical views. He is friendly and willing to co-operate. Married. His wife speaks no English.

40. Valat (Rabat)
Directeur de l'Intérieur. Many years in Morocco and one of the old die-hards. Is pleasant and friendly and knows Morocco well. Is now completely overshadowed by General de la Tour, who will be leaving Morocco after General Juin. Has a pleasant wife. Neither speaks English. In late fifties.

41. Walter, J. (Casablanca)
Aged over 50. Owner of *Maroc-Presse* and Zellidja mines, he has recently been made Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur. Has international architectural contacts, including Ankara.

42. Warnery (Fez)
Chef des Services Municipaux at Fez. Of Swiss origin and very Protestant. An efficient, intelligent man, energetic, with considerable influence in the town, where he is respected. Has a wife and two children. Sociable, and entertains well. Drinks in moderation. Was Chef des Services Municipaux in Ouezzane under Vichy régime and after the landing in 1943 was demoted for his Pétainist views to Adjoint au Chef des Services Municipaux at Fez till 1947, when he became Chef des Services Municipaux in Fez.

CHAPTER II.—SPANISH MOROCCO

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1013/2 No. 11

POLITICAL REPORT, OCTOBER–DECEMBER 1950

Consul-General Hope Gill to Mr. Bevin. (*Received 29th January*)

(No. 4) *Tetuan, 15th January*, 1951.

1. Activities of Political Parties

There has been no evidence of any open activity on the part of the *Hizb-al-Ialah* (Reform Party) or the *Wahdat-al-Maghrabiya* (Moroccan Unity Party), whose leaders, Abdul Khaliq Torres and Mekki al Nasiri, are still living in exile in Tangier. While Torres, who maintains discreet and cautious contacts with this zone, has, in spite of criticism about the apathy of his party, succeeded in preserving the sympathy of his numerous friends and followers here, Nasiri has lost ground heavily. He is even unpopular and widely considered to be now merely a French agent. The growing power of the Istiqlal Party in the French Zone has been followed here with keen interest and much sympathy in many quarters. Its literature, in the form of mimeographed broadsheets, which are from time to time distributed clandestinely in Tetuan and elsewhere, are very popular with the educated classes of the population, who are starved of current reading matter, there being no Arabic papers allowed to appear except one, half-Spanish, half-Arabic and wholly subservient bi-weekly. Abdul Karim is still looked upon as the victorious Moroccan leader and possible liberator, but not as a rival of the Sultan, who has grown in stature throughout the zone. There has been, however, no indication pointing to any recent direct contact by Abdul Karim with Spanish Morocco.

2. Communist Activities

(*a*) *Relations with Nationalists* (and the Moorish population)

Since communism and the Communist Party are "banned" in Spanish North Africa, as in Spain, there are no outward or legitimate activities. The only sign of known underground activity during the quarter was the distribution in the zone, reported in Tetuan despatch No. 77 of 14th November, of an illustrated Arabic broadsheet *As-Sada* (The Echo), published in Cairo, but this may not have been Communist- so much as Nationalist-inspired. Attempts made to attract nationalism in Morocco into co-operation with communism, linked with the reports put about of some flirtation by Torres in Tangier and Abdul Karim in Cairo with the Russians, need not, at present, be taken very seriously, but it is worth noting that conditions in Spanish Morocco tend to favour an appeal by both Spaniards and Moors to active help from communism or at least Communists, as a way out.

(*b*) *Labour Affairs*

Although there is no large scale unemployment and therefore no acute labour problem, the purchasing capacity of the ill-paid working class, both Spanish and Moorish, is decreasing in face of the continual rise in the cost of living. There is thus a general and deep-seated discontent among the labourers and manual workers of all kinds and all who can try to migrate to the neighbouring zones, but escape is very difficult. Trades unions, as distinct from the Phalangist-controlled Sindicatos, are non-existent in Spanish Morocco. Spanish and Moorish workmen, moreover, show no signs of wanting to join forces, being rivals for the work available. The tendency to bring in all, even the lowest, classes of labour from Spain has continued, so much so that two recently-opened industrial concerns are employing Spaniards almost exclusively, for work which Moors can well do. This policy is naturally playing into the hands of Moroccan nationalism, if not communism.

3. Relations between Local Leaders and Spanish Administration

(*a*) *His Highness the Khalifa and the High Commission*

Relations between the Khalifa and the Spanish Administration were "normal." His Highness seems, to the detriment of his popularity with the Moorish population, now to have identified himself so closely with Spanish interests in this zone that he is no longer looked upon as a compatriot who would air any strong native views or even seek to redress wrongs, however small. In a speech during his visit to the Khalifa on the occasion of the *'Aid-el-Kebir*, General Varela remarked on the "mutual satisfaction" existing between himself and His Highness Mulay Hasan. As the latter's hold on the people's loyalty has waned, the Sultan's has increased.

(*b*) *The Nationalists*

No contacts seem to have taken place between the Nationalist leaders exiled in Tangier and the Spanish authorities in Tetuan. The latter have lost no opportunity to try to discredit Torres and his lieutenants. Four Moorish members on the Tetuan Municipal Board, who had been suspended because of their connexion with Torres' Party and who subsequently were unable to attend the meeting of the corporation, since they are not allowed to return to the Spanish Zone from Tangier, were replaced by other "more reliable" Moors.

4. Developments in Spanish Administrative Policy, Proposals for Constitutional Reforms, &c.

There is nothing to report under this heading. The Spanish authorities were much relieved to see the French turn down the Sultan's proposals for the replacement of the Protectorate Treaty during His Majesty's recent visit to Paris. They also hope that the French Zone will not lead the way with more "reforms." General Varela still enjoys his favourite boast, that he has no nationalist (or constitutional) problem in "This Happy Zone," as the Spanish press keeps on calling Spanish Morocco.

5. Impact on Local Opinion of Events in Neighbouring Territories and World Affairs

(*a*) *French Morocco, the Tangier Zone, Cyrenaica*

In spite of the strict censorship and other Gestapo-like police measures aimed to prevent all political comment, it is well known that the Sultan's recent visit to Paris and the ensuing negotiations with the French Government were followed with the keenest interest, sympathy and hope for the success of Moroccan national aspirations by the majority of the urban Moorish population in this zone. The meeting in Tangier of the United States diplomatic and consular representatives, under the chairmanship of Mr. McGhee, also attracted the attention of the Moorish *intelligentsia*, who hoped that the future of Morocco would be discussed. There was much secret rejoicing at the news of approaching self-government for Cyrenaica and a good deal of praise of British policy in support of the Senussi Emir.

(*b*) *Korea, Germany, United States Interests, &c.*

The Communists attack and the United Nations' reverses in Korea were regarded with favour by a considerable section of the Moorish population as well as by most anti-Franco Spaniards. For both elements these feelings, which are certainly not imputable to any Moorish or much Spanish inherent love of communism, could be attributed, as far as the Moors are concerned, to their intense and widespread dislike of the policy of the United States towards the Arab world. United States' support of the Zionist aspirations and Israel will never be forgiven and the helpful United States attitude towards Franco's Spain and France has been additionally responsible for this strong, latent sympathy with the North Koreans and the Chinese. There was, on the other hand, considerable speculation on the rumours current that the Americans were getting air and naval bases in Spanish North Africa. The resurgence of a strong and free Germany was the other topic of interest. The generally pro-German, senior Spanish officials (as well as the press) in this zone consider that without Germany and Spain no defence of Western Europe or indeed of the world is possible (in this connexion see Tetuan despatch No. 65 of 21st October).

6. Press Comments

(*a*) *Gibraltar*

Following the directives of the Press Department in this zone and in line with policy in the Peninsula, the strictly censored and controlled Spanish press here published articles echoing the generalissimo's demand for the return of Gibraltar to Spain. The cool reaction in a section of the United States press to this resurrected territorial claim had, however, a salutary effect even on Spaniards here committed to the Franco régime. The Moors remained aloof and amused. Some recalled that both they and we had each held The Rock longer than the Spaniards.

(*b*) *General*

The local Spanish press was generally unfavourable to and critical of His Majesty's Government, with many sorties trying to discredit the British generally. The Arabic

press (beyond the Tetuan bi-lingual *El Dia-Al Nahar*, which is fed mainly by publicity material from the Italian news agency " Mondar ") is practically non-existent.

7. High Commissioner

General Varela, who has been increasingly ill with leucæmia during the quarter under review, showed no signs of desiring to relinquish his appointment. Vain and ambitious, he is holding on here, not for any particular love for Morocco but in the hope that something will turn up worthy of himself in Spain. His doctors and his wife, however, are pessimistic as to his recovery from this apparently incurable disease, while his entourage and the population generally seem to be getting tired of his inability to check the increasingly obvious maladministration of the zone.

8. Capitulations

British Treaty Rights, Consular Court and Postal Agency

The quarter saw the ninety-fourth anniversary of treaty rights which derive from the Anglo-Moroccan Agreements of 9th December, 1856, and form the anachronistic but still strong and necessary defences of British trade and other interests here. They were still under attack by the Spanish Zone Administration, an attack now mounted and led by the present hostile Chief of the High Commission's Diplomatic Cabinet. The Consular Court for Morocco, the Parcel Post Service (the only British trade import channel which the Spanish authorities have been unable to close), British medical missionary work and the consul-general himself were special targets. Representations were made to the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires in London and the Spanish Government in Madrid to relieve some of the pressure.

9. Miscellaneous

Mecca Pilgrimage.—About 300 pilgrims left from Spanish Morocco and some 285 returned, the rest having been killed by hailstones at 'Arafat or died more naturally. All who returned, without exception, were semi-starving as a result both of the Hejazi food and lack of ship's victuals, which the Spanish crew had sold in Egypt.

Franco's Visit to Spanish West Africa.—The generalissimo did not visit Spanish Morocco after all. He went not even to the empty spaces of the southern half of the Spanish zone of influence in Morocco, but near enough to affect the northern part indirectly. He complained publicly to his Seharans that Spain, in the partitioning of Morocco, had been given the bones and the hide and he laid claim (this was before he re-laid claim to Gibraltar) to a redistribution of territory. Great play was also made by Spanish propagandists with alleged Moslem and Arab love for the Caudillo.

The Muluya.—The big dams project was being pushed ahead by the French on their side of this considerable Moroccan river and the Spaniards on their bank were being left behind in spite of an accord of progress together. It looked in fact as though the French within two years would get all the water they wanted for irrigation of their already rich Berkane area, while the Spaniards would be left to build the upper, and bigger, dam largely at their own expense and later on, if *they* were ever to get the hydro-electric power they needed for Melilla and the semi-desertic eastern end of their zone.

JM 1013/4

No. 12

POLITICAL REPORT, JANUARY–MARCH 1951

Consul-General Hope Gill to Mr. Morrison. (Received 5th May)

(No. 27)

Tetuan,
20th April, 1951.

1. Activities of Political Parties

There has again been no evidence of any political activity on the part of the Nationalist parties, with the exception of instructions received from the *Hizb-al-Islah* (Reform Party's) exiled leader Abdul Khaliq Torres to his friends and sympathisers in Tetuan, to look after Salah Abu Rakeeyak, the Arab League envoy, who paid a visit to this zone, and to abstain from joining in any of the manifestations which might be organised by the Spaniards and their Moorish subordinates with the object of showing how Moors and Spaniards in Spanish Morocco live in complete " understanding and brotherhood."

A report that the leader of the *Wahdat-al-Maghrabiya* (Moroccan Unity Party) was stoned in Tangier on his return from French Morocco further increased Nasiri's unpopularity here.

There has been some speculation as to approaches made by the Spanish Zone authorities to Torres in Tangier with a view to his returning to Tetuan. It is said that the Spanish High Commission took soundings on instructions from Madrid, where a desire for an understanding with the Nationalists in Spanish Morocco seems apparent. It is thought, however, that Torres's conditions would be unacceptable to the Spaniards in spite of their wish to seem to pose as Liberals towards Moorish aspirations in contrast with the French attitude.

On 22nd March, the anniversary of the foundation of the Arab League, when all Moorish shops in Tetuan were closed and beflagged on instructions from the Spanish authorities, hand-written posters in Arabic appeared on the walls of a few buildings in the Moorish town. These contained anti-colonialist and pro-independence slogans.

The recent events in French Morocco have increased interest in the *Istiqlal* (Independence Party). The crisis in the relations between the Sultan and the Resident-General at Rabat was followed very closely by all Moroccan Nationalists in the Spanish Zone. In spite of the fact that the local Spanish press hardly published anything except the official French communiqués, the Moorish population was able to follow the day-to-day developments of that major political crisis largely through the news bulletins of the B.B.C., for which they were full of praise.

The Sultan has emerged with increased sympathy and even prestige, since there was a general feeling that he had merely had to bend to the strong-arm methods of the foreign rulers of Morocco, like the rest of them, but that he had done it cleverly and had not given much away. The support for and solidarity with the cause of Morocco shown by the Arab League and all Arab and Moslem countries brought a feeling of relief and the conviction that the Sultan's yielding on points to General Juin would alter nothing in the end.

On the other hand, very general contempt for, and dislike of, El Glawi was expressed. He is not popular and never has been.

The Spanish attitude during the crisis was one of uneasiness. The High Commissioner was relieved that General Juin won apparently hands down. An interesting reaction was the effort made by the Native Affairs Department in Tetuan, on instructions from Madrid, but apparently against the local grain, to organise a " spontaneous " loyal Moorish demonstration in favour of the Sultan, in order to show solidarity with all the Arab and Moslem world and also to dispose of the view that there was no freedom in Spanish Morocco. This attempt, however, failed owing to the flat refusal of the Moors, chosen by the Spanish authorities to lead and organise this demonstration, to co-operate, despite generous bribes and promises of non-intervention.

This zone has remained quiet throughout the crisis.

2. Communism and Labour

(*a*) There has been no known Communist activity. The only sign of contact with the outside Communist world was the distribution by postal channels of a Titoist, anti-Cominform magazine *Revue de la Politique Mondiale* published in French in Belgrade. These publications which were addressed to prominent young Moorish Nationalists in this zone, reached them through the Spanish Post Office but, strangely enough, were not intercepted by the censor.

In connexion with General Varela's statement to a Madrid press correspondent that opposition to communism is inherent in the true Moslem, the bi-lingual *El Dia/An-Nahar* of Tetuan reminded its readers of Morocco's spontaneous help to Spain during the Spanish Civil War and her successful struggle against communism, pointing out that it was a demonstration of the Moroccan Moslems' antagonism to communistic doctrines.

(*b*) The continual rise in the cost of living coupled with a reduction in the already meagre rations of food-stuffs, has further affected the ill-paid working population, in spite of an increase of the minimum wage. There is thus deep-seated discontent caused by misery and despair among the working class, both Spanish and Moorish. This was fully reported in despatch No. 11 of 1st March and it will suffice here to say that no measures have yet been taken by the authorities to improve the situation.

3. Relations between Local Leaders and Spanish Administration

(a) High Highness the Khalifa and the High Commissioner

The Khalifa has maintained friendly and co-operative relations with the Administration. During the recent trial of strength in the French Zone between the Sultan and General Juin, he played with both sides, always with an eye to the main chance for himself. He is known to have assured the Spaniards of his preference for the full continuation of the *status quo* in Morocco, while at the same time renewing expressions of his loyalty to the Sultan (see despatch No. 10 of 3rd March).

The unpunished rape, by one of the Khalifa's brothers of a young Moorish girl of Tetuan, which got by the censor by being published in the local press in the form of a news item (imaginary) from Belgrade, quoting a Gold Coast dateline and involving a negro prince, aroused the deepest local indignation. This incident brought the Khalifian family still lower in the popular estimation. (A member of the Moorish staff of *An-Nahar* who was found to be responsible for the publication of this news item was fined by the Native Affairs Department.)

Soon after leaving Ceuta, where he had attended a football match, the Khalifa had his car stoned by "unknown children," but no political significance is attached to the incident.

(b) The Nationalists

Apart from the Spanish, so far unfruitful, attempt to secure the return to Tetuan of Abdul Khaliq Torres, referred to in paragraph 1 of this report, no contacts appear to have taken place between the Spanish Administration and the leaders of the Nationalist Parties exiled in Tangier.

4. Developments in Spanish Administrative Policy, Proposals for Constitutional Reforms, &c.

There has been no visible change in Spanish administrative policy. The Spaniards are closely watching the developments of the dispute in Rabat between the Sultan and the Resident-General over the dahirs for constitutional reforms.

5. Impact on Local Opinion of Events in Neighbouring Territories and World Affairs

The important events which have recently taken place in the French Zone of Morocco have been followed with the utmost interest by both the Moorish and Spanish population.

Since the granting of bases by the French to the Americans in the French Zone of Morocco, there is a belief that the Americans are no longer interested in securing similar facilities in Spanish North Africa.

The recent activities of the Moroccan Nationalists in Tangier in support of the Sultan have revived the hopes of the Moors in this zone for independence before long, while the Karachi Moslem Congress held early in February and the support given to the Moroccan cause by all the Arab and Moslem countries has encouraged local Moorish opinion, which is all for complete independence sooner or later, enormously.

6. Press

The local Spanish press continued to publish selected news items enhancing the importance of the United States' rearmament whilst minimising the efforts and achievements in this field of the West European countries. With the usual stress laid on the importance of Spanish contribution in the struggle against communism, it also envisaged an alliance between Spain and the united States of America outside the Atlantic Pact.

The *Diario de Africa* published an editorial drawing an invidious comparison between the United States and British policy towards Spain on the occasion of the arrival in Madrid of Mr. Stanton Griffis and Sir John Balfour (see, in this connexion, despatch No. 13 of 15th March).

A number of Moroccan Nationalist press reports on the recent events in the French Zone, including King Abdullah's message to President Truman, the State Department's protest to the French Government and the various messages of support from the Moslem and Arab world, have been allowed to appear in the part-Arabic newspaper *An-Nahar*.

The organ of the Bar Association (*Boletin del Colegio de Abogados*) published a study by a Spanish jurist in Madrid of the laws of this zone, in which he referred to the Capitulations as "unjustified and irritating." He said that while the Spaniards "must watch for the expiry of these anachronistic privileges, there can be no question of their tagging along behind the Sultanic Zone."

7. High Commissioner

General Varela died on 24th March. His six years' proconsulship and its results were fully reported and commented upon in despatches (No. 6 of 20th February and No. 19 of 31st March). The late High Commissioner's posthumous promotion to captain-general and the award to him, only after his death, of a title of nobility has been much commented, in local Spanish circles, as an indication of General Franco's policy towards other generals in the Spanish army who could eventually play a leading rôle in politics.

His successor, who has just been appointed, is Lieutenant-General Rafael García-Valiño y Marcén, who has the reputation of being a good soldier and strict disciplinarian. The new High Commissioner will find in this zone an almost stagnant and certainly very corrupt Administration.

8. Capitulations

British Treaty Rights, Consular Court and Postal Agency

There was a lull in the attacks on our treaty rights by the Spanish Zone Administration.

Relations with the local authorities (apart from the chief of the Diplomatic Cabinet) have been most friendly and both the Native Affairs and the Economy Departments have given this consulate-general, when it was found possible to approach them direct and not through the Diplomatic Cabinet, all the facilities applied for such as the issue without undue delay and obstruction of shooting licences for British subjects not resident in this zone, refund of currency seized from a British subject of Gibraltar who was alleged to have tried to smuggle pesetas out of the Spanish Zone, grant of permission to the Indian Community at short notice and against the advice of the Interventor Territorial, Sr. Carvajal, to proceed with the cremation according to Hindu rites of the body of an Indian who died in Tetuan and so on; small matters, but straws in the wind.

The British Postal Agency in Tetuan has played, unhindered, its useful part in help of British trade. During 1950, £27,000 worth of United Kingdom textiles were imported by one local British-protected firm alone by parcel post. The total of British goods imported in the zone during the first two months of 1951 through the same channel—still the only one open for British trade—amounted to £20,700 and 1,227 Canadian dollars.

9. Miscellaneous

The Muluya

Further negotiations took place in Rabat between the Administrations of the two zones regarding this major irrigation and hydro-electric scheme. A final protocol was agreed upon about, amongst other details, the revised French and Spanish shares in the distribution of the water, in the proportion of 60 per cent. to 40 per cent.

Legislation

The Spanish authorities have found it necessary to repeal a dahir imposing unusually heavy penalties for the misuse of motor vehicles and traffic offences, which was issued in 1950. It appears that this decree was considered to be anti-constitutional and in conflict with the penal code in force in this zone.

JM 1013/5 No. 13

POLITICAL REPORT, APRIL–JUNE 1951

Consul-General Hope Gill to Mr. Morrison. (Received 14th August)

(No. 76) *Tetuan, 30th July*, 1951.

1. Activities of Political Parties

No overt activity inside this zone by the Nationalist parties has been reported, but Nationalist feeling was, nevertheless, very much alive. Discreet contacts between his followers in the zone and the exiled leader of the Reform Party have been maintained. His friends and sympathisers held secret meetings during which funds were raised to help Si Abdul Khaliq through his financial difficulties in Tangier.

The brothers of Si Tayeb Bennuna, the exiled secretary-general of the Reform Party, together with their party friends, managed to entertain, without Spanish interference or presence, the Arab League delegate as well as the Egyptian and Pakistani journalists who visited this zone.

The April Pact signed in Tangier between the four Nationalist leaders roused considerable hopes. Its strict observance on the whole has also been favourable commented.

2. Communism and Labour

There has been no evidence of any Communist activity. Some twenty-five Moors and one Egyptian of Ceuta were detained for alleged communistic activities. They had, it was said, received from the Peninsula " chain-letters " inviting workmen to strike in protest against the high cost of living.

3. Relations between Local Leaders and Spanish Administration

(a) His Highness the Khalifa and the High Commissioner

It is now reported that during the February crisis in Rabat the Khalifa, under Spanish auspices, offered to mediate between the Sultan and the French Resident-General. While General Juin is said to have welcomed the proposal, it was turned down by the Sultan.

On the occasion of the new High Commissioner's first official visit to the Meshwar or Khalifian Hall of Audience, the Khalifa, replying to General Valiño's speech, praised Generalissimo Franco for his wise choice and assured the Spanish authorities of his readiness " to co-operate with sincerity and loyalty."

(b) The Nationalists

It was persistently rumoured that, on instructions from the new High Commissioner, some of the exiled Nationalists in Tangier were again being approached with a view to securing their return to this zone. While Torres may be ready to meet General Valíno on even terms, he is too old a hand to fall into a trap. He and his followers are more likely to take and maintain the uncompromising stand of " non-co-operation with colonialism " required by the Nationalist Parties' Pact. Si Abdul Khaliq is known to have believed, however, that an appreciable change would be felt in the zone as the result of the High Commissioner's visit to Spain for consultation with the Head of the State and that a new situation would thus be created which would enable him to return to Tetuan on an adequate guarantee for freedom in Nationalist activities. He has been proved over-optimistic as the weeks have gone by.

As leader of the *Hizb-al-Islah,* however, Torres is now apparently on the list of guests to be invited to official functions at the Spanish Consulate-General in Tangier.

Mekki el Nasiri's shares in this zone have gone up, thanks to his Tangier newspaper, *Minbar Ash-Sha'b* (" People's Pulpit "), which is considered to be the official organ of the Nationalist *bloc* and which is widely circulating in Spanish Morocco.

4. Developments in Spanish Administrative Policy, Proposals for Reforms, &c.

There is nothing to report. The new High Commissioner is said to be very dissatisfied with the present educational system and policy in this zone, amongst others. He was tackled personally soon after his arrival by dissatisfied Moorish teachers and students and is undoubtedly alive to the native resentment against the whole educational set-up, since he made public in Madrid special mention of the need for Moorish educational reform and expansion. The position in Spanish Morocco regarding Moorish education was fully reported in Tetuan despatch No. 58 of 30th June. It will suffice to add here that the Spanish head of the Department of Education and Culture was annoyed at General Valiño's criticism which has raised a corner of the veil covering the whole farcical native educational system. Sr. García Figueras's first move, however, has been to appoint an inspector for each of the sixty-two existing schools of the zone. This corps of inspectors is to be headed by a chief inspector for primary education, for which post a Moroccan graduate of the Cairo Dar Al 'Ulum has been chosen.

At the official exams held at the end of the school year, those Moorish pupils whose knowledge of Spanish was considered deficient were ploughed despite their proficiency in other subjects.

A suggestion that mathematics in Moorish elementary schools should be taught in Arabic (under the guidance of Si Dris Bennuna and Si Mohammed Al Khatib, who have completed their education in the Madrid Catholic Institute of Arts and Industry and the Cairo Faculty of Engineering respectively) has been flatly turned down by the Spanish advisers to the Education Department, who threatened to resign should the proposal be approved.

5. Impact on Local Opinion of Events in Neighbouring Territories and World Affairs

The activities of the Moroccan Nationalists in Tangier in the struggle for national independence is being followed with the closest interest and with high hopes by the educated class of town folk of the zone. The Tangier Nationalist *bloc's* " Manifesto to the Moroccan People," which was widely circulated in Spanish Morocco, has revived their faith in the strength of nationalism.

There has been much comment on the events in the Kasba-Tadla area in the Atlas. Satisfaction was felt at the telegram sent from Tangier by Torres to M. Trygve Lie, in which the leader of the Reform Party associated the " Moroccan people in the Khalifian Zone " with the protest against the detention by the French of Omar Ben Abdil Jalil.

General Franco's statement to a correspondent of the London *Daily Mail* about Spain's territorial claim on Gibraltar and the ensuing press and radio campaign in the Peninsula was hailed in Falangist circles, especially at Ceuta and Melilla, where leaflets carrying anti-British slogans were distributed. The only local press comment appeared in the Tangier *España* in an article, " The Unforgettable Lesson," by the Tetuan writer and member of the staff of the Tetuan Education Department, Enrique Arques, who was head of the Press and Propaganda Department of the zone during the last war.

His Highness the Khalifa sent a telegram of greetings to King Farouk of Egypt on the occasion of the anniversary of his accession to the throne and his wedding.

The removal of General MacArthur raised adverse comment in Spanish military circles, while some civilian officials who resent the army's domination in all walks of life in Spain saw in President Truman's action a further example of Western democratic strength.

6. Press

The strike and riots in the Barcelona area have been firmly played down and attributed to foreign influence by the local Spanish press. These events, nevertheless, caused a deep impression in the zone. In the mind of the ordinary man in the street here, who also feels seriously the pinch of the high cost of living, low income and maladministration, there was no doubt that the root causes of the crisis were Spanish and social.

An editorial comment on the occasion of the appointment of the new High Commissioner which appeared in the *Marruecos,* an illustrated magazine published in Melilla, was read locally as an offensive criticism of the late General Varela. All copies were withdrawn from circulation on instructions from the High Commissioner to whom, it is said, the widow of General Varela had sent a complaint, and a completely new issue was published.

The editor of the bi-lingual *An Nahar/El Día* was fined 500 pesetas for allegedly misconstruing, in the Arabic version, a statement to the press made by General Valiño in Madrid about nationalism in Spanish Morocco.

On the occasion of the short visit paid to this zone by Si Kaddur Ben Gabrit towards the end of May, in transit for Spain, where he was to undergo medical treatment, the press reported (as usual) the satisfaction expressed by the Sultan's representative in Paris at his interview with General Valiño, his praise of this zone and his gratitude for the welcome he received in Tetuan.

7. High Commissioner

On 30th April Lieutenant-General Rafael García-Valiño y Marcén assumed charge of his post of High Commissioner, G.O.C. Armed Forces and Governor-General of Ceuta and Melilla.

His appointment was greeted with a general sigh of relief and hopes for the purging of the Administration of the zone.

Although it is premature to pass any judgment on his achievements so far, it must be said that none of the improvements expected from the new High Commissioner's keen interest and supposed administrative ability and integrity has, so far, materialised. All the same corrupt and inefficient heads of departments are still in the saddle, except for the fairly innocuous delegate-general, who has been replaced. General Valiño is either unable to get rid of any of the old gang because his hands are still tied in Madrid against interference with his predecessor's work or is too inexperienced an administrator to risk upsetting the *status quo.*

The new High Commissioner has, however, already made his first personal report to the Chief of the Spanish State during a ten-day visit to Madrid, where he publicly stated that the main points of his programme were afforestation and water, native education, political development of the protectorate and reduction of the high cost of living. On his return to Tetuan on 23rd June, he told the press that he was extremely satisfied with the result of his consultations and that he had obtained the approval and support of the Caudillo for his programme.

In his personal relations with this consulate-general, General Valiño has underlined his wish to be friendly and co-operative, but it remains to be seen to what extent the influence of his Chief of Diplomatic Cabinet, Sr. Diaz de Tuesta, will allow of it.

8. Capitulations, British Treaty Rights, Consular Court and Postal Agency

The trial in Tetuan by His Honour the Chief Justice of Gibraltar of the master of the British motor-launch *Ala Moana*, who was charged by the Spanish authorities under the Act of Algeciras of attempting to smuggle goods into this zone, made a very desirable impression in both official and unofficial circles in Spanish Morocco. It helped to prove that British Treaty rights are by no means a dead letter, but very much alive and it gave a spectacular example of British justice in action in a foreign land, for the Chief Justice brought not only his full-bottomed wig and his robes but his court usher and other personnel as well, and the trial was followed by Spanish judges and lawyers amongst the public.

The Spanish Zone authorities seem to have embarked on a campaign to deprive all British subjects of Indian origin of the enjoyment of capitulatory rights. The danger has been fully reported to the Foreign Office and it is hoped that it will be possible to induce the Spanish Government to prevent any premature and arbitrary action in Morocco.

The British Postal Agency in Tetuan has continued to play its useful part in helping British trade, £21,105 6*s*. 11*d*. worth of British goods having been imported into the zone by parcel post during the quarter under review, making a total of £102,482 10*s*. 10*d*. in the year 1950–51, for a total maintenance cost of the postal agency of only about £570.

9. Miscellaneous

General Political Situation

The zone has remained quiet throughout the quarter, although some unrest was reported at Villa Sanjurjo in the Rif, where one Hasan Budra, a relative of Abdul Kerim, was arrested, together with about fifty followers, for alleged subversive activities. The reports of the incident as published by the French Zone press were greatly exaggerated.

The Muluya Scheme

A dahir was published on 20th April, 1951, approving the Franco-Spanish Protocol signed in Rabat last August relating to the partitioning of the waters of the Muluya in the proportion of 60 per cent.: 40 per cent. for the French: Spanish Zones.

Spanish prestige, naturally the darling of the local Spanish press, was enhanced by a headline in June:—

> "The Spanish Police Enjoy the Respect and *Admiration of the World*."

The Spanish Director-General of Security, back in Madrid from an international conference at Lisbon, had said so.

Visitors

The Archduke Otto of Hapsburg and his German wife the Princess Regina of Saxe-Meiningen, paid a two-day visit to the zone early in June. "Their Imperial and Royal Highnesses" were entertained by the High Commissioner and called on the Duchesse de Guise at Laraiche.

JM 1013/7 No. 14

POLITICAL REPORT, JULY–SEPTEMBER 1951

Consul-General Hope Gill to Mr. Morrison. (*Received* 24*th October*)

(No. 95) *Tetuan*, 11*th October*, 1951.

1. Political Parties

A quiet quarter, during which soundings were taken in Tangier by the new Spanish High Commissioner, through the new military attaché at Tangier, to see whether and on what terms the leader of the Moorish National Reform Party, one of the only two political parties existing in Spanish Morocco, would return to the zone and come under Spanish physical control once more. (The other party is Nasiri's moribund Moroccan Unity Party.) On 7th August Colonel de Mesa is supposed to have opened the talks, which resulted only in a continuation of the stalemate, Si Abdul Khaliq Torres, leader of the *Hizb al Islah*, maintaining that the April Tangier Nationalist Pact prevented

him from negotiating with any Occupying Power. The only terms, nevertheless, mentioned by him were, apparently, the three freedoms—of speech, the press and association—which had been suppressed so early and completely in the last High Commissioner's reign. Local Nationalists, with their leaders mostly in exile, meanwhile lay low (apart from writing up wall slogans such as "We want these thieves to leave our country," in Arabic, for which a number of Moors were jailed); letting it be known, however that the party would never accept a position of inferiority and control under the Spanish administration and that their leader was not such a fool as to put his head back into the lion's mouth. Neither side, of course, trusts the other an inch.

Nationalist hopes were pinned to action which the Arab League might take to bring the Moroccan question before the United Nations Assembly in due course. The *Minbar Ash-Sha'b* or "People's Pulpit" of Tangier, the only Nationalist newspaper seen here, published a telegram from Torres and Nasiri about it to Azzam Pasha and hopes were further raised by the League's decision at its August meeting to inscribe Morocco on the November agenda of the Paris meeting of the U.N.O. That paper also published in September a long open letter from Torres "to the United Kingdom and United States Governments from an oppressed citizen of an oppressed country."

General Juin's final departure from Morocco was welcome news in Nationalist circles, but they set no store by any change in French policy under the new Resident-General.

2. Communism and Labour

Nothing to report. Nevertheless, the publication in the *Minbar ash-Sha'b* in August of the Algerian United Front's manifesto, to which Nationalist Parties and Moslem *Ulama* subscribed alongside Communists, is bound to have effect on the Moroccan mind. It is the first time here that it has been realised that good Moslems, as they presume all *Ulama* to be, will associate themselves publicly with communism for political ends. The example may be followed.

3. Local Leaders and the Spanish Administration

(*a*) *Khalifa*

The Khalifa's eldest son returned from Madrid in July a fully-fledged lawyer, but he will not practice.

The Spanish Press Association tried to get the Khalifa and his wife to attend their summer verbena and actually inveigled them into accepting and the Khalifa into saying that he hoped that Moroccan ladies would attend with their husbands and alongside their Spanish sisters. But they both disappeared into Spain to take the waters and the party was attended, as usual, by the Spaniards only—a small measure of the sisterly and brotherly love lost between the two races.

At the 'Aid al Kabir in September the High Commissioner paid the customary visit of congratulation to the Khalifa and used the occasion to announce a six-fold increase in the sum to be spent in the next five years on building schools for the natives, a project in which few believe or expect to see materialise. See 4 below.

(*b*) *Nationalists*

See 1 above.

(*c*) *Others*

There are none.

4. Spanish Administrative Policy

The American and Egyptian press, the Tangier *Dépêche*, a French Zone paper and the Free Basque radio all gave publicity to a reported Spanish Government intention to grant autonomy in the near future to Spanish Morocco. The *canard* even described the two zones into which the predominantly Arab and Berber populations were to be divided.

Locally, the reports were received with only the slightest interest, as yet another Spanish effort to curry favour with the Arab States, clumsily helped by ignorant foreign journalists.

First-fruits of the new High Commissioner's visit to Madrid last June with his programme for reforms, was the announcement mentioned above of greatly increased expenditure on a Moorish school-building programme. At the same time General Valiño opined that, when educated, Moorish youth must be employed much more than heretofore in administration, for training. He also hinted rather vaguely at political reform of the Caliphate Government, the so-called *Makhzen*, in the direction presumably of extending its powers; they could hardly be less.

The Spanish State *Official Bulletin* of 2nd July published a decree abrogating the Hispano-Moroccan baccalaureate and entirely separating Spanish from Moorish

education in Spanish Morocco. The former in future and throughout the Spanish Zone will be directed from the Sovereign Territories of Ceuta and Melilla; the latter will stem from Tetuan. This is a move in the right direction and has been well received, for what it is worth.

5. Reactions to Nearby Events and World Affairs

Nationalist activity in Tangier has been as closely followed as usual and the *People's Pulpit* much read.

The same may be said of the French Zone, although the Rabat *Information*, the Istiqlal's organ, is but rarely seen.

Such Algerian and Tunisian news and views as filtered in roused but little interest.

The Spanish claim to Gibraltar was expected to be voiced on 4th August, "Gibraltar Day," by the Spanish youth of Ceuta and Melilla, who had been practiced in a seven-verse marching song that they were to sing through the streets and with particular emphasis in front of the British vice-consulates; but nothing came of it all, and apart from press articles, the Spanish Zone also was silent on the subject.

Spain's success in courting American interest and dollars raised, chiefly, sordid hopes in both Spanish and Moorish breasts for plenty of rich pickings in Spanish Morocco. The more intelligent and better informed were faintly amused by the French insistence that Spain had no right to make any strategic arrangements with the United States affecting Spanish Morocco except through the Quai d'Orsay. Only the more politically-minded Moors and Republican Spaniards deplored the American readiness to help General Franco, as effectively maintaining him in power just when he might have fallen.

Wishful rumours persisted that the Americans had been granted facilities to use Arzila and Laraiche on the Atlantic coast as naval and air bases. The only hair or hide seen of them, however, during the quarter were two United States army officer, Majors Lahm and Pratt, who attended autumn manœuvres in the Laraiche hinterland and were shown over the zone.

The United Nations Organisation began to enter the Moroccan public consciousness as the body to which the Arab League would before long refer the present unsatisfactory political stagnation and repression in Morocco (see 1 above). The Moor is always ready to hear of outside aid.

News of King Abdullah's assassination, though deplored by most educated Moors, was agreeably received by the rest and by the Nationalists. The Amir had blotted his copybook for them by visiting Spain, not visiting Morocco and praising Spain publicly for her work in Morocco.

Control of Germans in Spanish Morocco is now entirely in the hands of the French Consulate-General, which is supposed to consult the British Consulate-General with a view to still keeping obnoxious and dangerous ex-enemies out of Spanish North Africa.

6. The Press

Editorial comment in the leading zonal newspaper, *Diario de Africa* was frequently hostile to His Majesty's Government and the British attitude generally in international affairs. The Persian oil dispute was represented as one between London Labour and Tehran Nationalists and Mr. Harriman was said to be highly critical of the British stand and of the British removal of their wives and children, taking his own wife with him to lend it emphasis. Of course, the British policy towards the Franco Government was censured as that of "doing the greatest possible damage to Spain even at risk of Western defence" and of "helping Yugoslavia at the expense of Spain." Even the usually inoffensive little *Telegrama del Rif*, in a bitter article, relished Great Britain's difficulties in Persia, Iraq, Egypt, the Pacific ("where New Zealand and Australia had turned their backs on her—the fleet of His Gracious Majesty having shone by its absence from that sea in the last war, eliminated by Japan"), and Gibraltar, now reclaimed by the generalissimo. The article was entitled "The Lion's Tail," and the twister may well have been a local German, or his mouthpiece.

There was still no Arabic newspaper allowed in the zone, only a half-and-half Hispano-Arabic reflection of the official view.

7. High Commissioner

General Valiño showed considerable personal activity, visiting various parts of the Western half of the zone, more than his predecessor ever did, and seeing things for himself instead of merely holding parades. But the corrupt old heads of departments, the men who carry out (or hamper) policy if they do not form it, all remain in power. It has been becoming increasingly evident that the new High Commissioner lacks

character, even though he has charm and no doubt means well. He flew twice to Madrid, in July and in September, which gave the impression that he feels he must consult authority a good deal; although on the last occasion a reason was given, unofficially, that he was being prepared to take over command of Spain's northern frontier area.

Typical of his weakness was the reappointment here as head of the *Sindicatos*, or Phalangist trade unions of a notorious Phalangist "butcher" of civil war days, who had been kept out of Spanish Morocco by the late High Commissioner. General Valiño made it clear locally by way of explanation that he did not want trouble with the *Falange* in Madrid. He also betrayed weakness in going back on his undertakings to His Majesty's Consul-General in the Rudge case (see below) under pressure from his Chief of Diplomatic Cabinet.

8. Capitulations, Treaty Rights, &c.

On 13th July a British subject named Rudge, an inoffensive art student, was summarily arrested by the local authorities, when the High Commissioner had left for Madrid, on orders from Sr. de Tuesta, Chief of the Diplomatic Cabinet, and expelled from the zone within half an hour. This was a flagrant breach of Treaty rights and the Capitulatory régime such as had never previously occurred. At an interview in which His Majesty's Consul-General strongly protested, the High Commissioner undertook both to readmit Mr. Rudge to the zone and to instruct Sr. de Tuesta to withdraw an offensive remark which he had made to the consul-general about the local British community. Neither promise was kept. Further action is still under consideration.

On 15th July the Spanish authorities at Ceuta at length released from prison a Mr. Mohinani, a British subject of Indian origin, whom they had illegally detained and jailed ten weeks earlier on the spurious charge (which they did not prefer, however) of sending pesetas to Spain from Spanish Morocco. He has now submitted a heavy claim for damages and has been directed on instructions from His Majesty's Government not to appear before the Spanish Court of Monetary Offences in Madrid, where the illegality of the authorities' action is being represented to the Spanish Government.

On 16th August another British subject of Indian origin, Mr. Daswani, was illegally penalised in despite of Treaty rights and the Capitulations by a local Spanish court order blocking his bank account on instructions from the Madrid Court of Monetary Offences. The despite no doubt resulted from a High Commission circular of 26th April sent out on Sr. de Tuesta's advice to all local courts and authorities and instructing them, in effect, no longer to regard "Indians" and "Pakistanis" as British subjects, enjoying Capitulatory rights. In law, however, most of those resident in Spanish Morocco still are such and the case, to which another substantial claim will probably attach, is being dealt with in Madrid.

There also the Spanish Government was being pressed to control and withdraw a number of other attacks that had been made on British subjects and their Treaty rights by the local authorities, all at Sr. de Tuesta's instigation and notably on British medical and other missionary work in the Spanish Zone, where it has been peacefully conducted for several generations.

9. Miscellaneous

The Muluya Dams scheme advanced another step, on paper, when the French and Spanish Zone authorities agreed to build the main, upper dam high enough to hold 700 million cubic metres of water instead of the previous 500 and broadly enough based to allow of its being raised to hold 1,000 million cubic metres eventually, if needed.

Forestry

Deforestation in the zone was reported on in some detail in July in a despatch which could only draw a black picture, of a merciless Spanish State and commercial exploitation of the zone's small but valuable forest and scrub wealth, set against an empty background, the complete absence of any replanting worth speaking of. Northern Morocco will soon be as bare as is Southern Spain.

Public Works

A fair example of the corrupt state of the Administration came to light at the end of September, when the 80-million-peseta 2-mile tunnel, built to accommodate the Ceuta–Tetuan railway inside the belly of the new *autostrade* that is to enhance entry into the zonal capital, was being partially filled in, because it was found to be dangerous. The whole length is said to be irreparable and useless. Too much of the cement which should have held the sand and gravel together went into private ends. There has

been and probably will be neither public enquiry nor any change of direction. Where would it stop?

Visitors

From the French Zone, the centenarian Grand Vizier Haj Mohammed el Mokri, and the Sultan's brother-in-law, Mulay Mustapha ben Zidan, were guests of the Khalifa at different times on their way through.

The Kabaka of Buganda, with his brother Henry and Mr. Haddon, late of the Colonial Service, spent a week-end in Tetuan in August and were disappointed by the inhospitable chilliness of their reception by the Khalifa and the High Commissioner, in contrast with arrangements said by Spanish friends to have been made for them from Madrid.

Appointments

A suspect new Basha or Governor of Tetuan, an unpopular and reputedly corrupt new Qadhi or Judge of Tetuan and a new, corrupt and most unpopular President of the Native Court of Makhzen Appeal have not enhanced Spanish prestige as protectors nor improved relations between the two races.

CHAPTER III.—INTERNATIONAL ZONE OF TANGIER

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1011/1

No. 15

TANGIER: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1950

Consul-General Stirling to Mr. Bevin. (Received 27th January)

(No. 8. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *13th January,* 1951.

I have the honour to transmit herewith my report on events in Tangier during the year 1950.

I have, &c.
C. N. STIRLING.

Enclosure in No. 15

Report on Events in Tangier during 1950

Political

Early in the year several incidents occurred which troubled the relations between the International Administration and the Spanish authorities, but by the end of the summer the sources of friction had been smoothed over and the political situation at the end of the year was more or less what it had been twelve months before. No doubt the Spaniards during the latter part of the year were anxious to avoid doing anything which might have had a bad effect at Lake Success and it is to be hoped that a desire to foster improved relations with the West will continue to influence their behaviour towards Tangier. It is possible that a renewal of their drive to improve their position in the international régime may be timed for 1952, when their representative will be chairman of the Committee of Control.

2. The first of the incidents referred to above was an attempt by the authorities of the Spanish Zone at the beginning of February to secure the body of the Shereef el Darkawa, whom they accused of stirring up rebellion in their territory by sending armed bands across the frontier from Tangier. After an unsuccessful attempt to stampede the Mendoub into handing him over, they applied formally for his extradition under the terms of the Franco-Spanish Treaty of 1916 (later made applicable to Tangier) by which warrants issued in one zone may be executed in another.

3. Since the Shereef, though a somewhat disreputable character, is respected as a religious leader, it would have been bad for the credit of the Administration to hand him over, and the Spaniards, who were obviously delighted at an excuse to show up Tangier as a hot-bed of subversive activity, when they had him in their power would doubtless have used him to make hostile propaganda. For these reasons, after an enquiry had been made and had shown that agents supplied with arms by the Shereef had in fact crossed the frontier into the Spanish Zone, there being a strong suggestion that he had acted at the instigation of Spanish *agents provocateurs*, it was decided to try him in Tangier. He was condemned to three and a half years' imprisonment and sent to serve his sentence in the French Zone, where he has since been placed in *résidence forcée*. Contrary to the expectations of the alarmists, his arrest and trial caused no disquiet among the Moorish population, nor did the Spaniards dispute the procedure adopted.

4. On 13th February the Administrator notified the Committee of Control that the Tangier police had arrested an agent of the Spanish authorities in Tetuan named Melendez, who was accused of kidnapping certain Left-wing Spaniards living in exile in the zone. This incident caused a good deal of indignation and after an exchange of views between His Majesty's Government and the United States, French, Belgian and Dutch Governments, a special meeting of the Committee of Control was held, at which the Spanish Consul-General was asked to find out whether Melendez was acting on behalf of the Spanish authorities and to convey to the High Commissioner an expression of the concern which the case had aroused. Señor del Castillo fought a stern defensive action, refusing to make any statement on the ground that the case was pending before the Mixed Court. The trial eventually took place in July. Owing to the peculiarities of the Mixed Court procedure, Melendez was

prosecuted by the Spanish procurator before a jury of Spaniards and was acquitted on the charge of kidnapping (though it was fairly clear from the evidence that he had decoyed several men on board a vessel from which they had disappeared into Spanish prisons). He was condemned to six months' imprisonment for carrying arms. As there was no means of challenging the judgment of the court, this ended the incident, but the Dutch Government instructed their representative to inform the Committee of Control that they intended as a result to submit proposals for the reform of the Mixed Tribunal.

5. Early in the year a weakening of the peseta on the Tangier market produced pressure from the Spanish authorities for remedial measures to be taken by the Administration to control both exchange operations and the movement of goods. The leakage of money through Tangier is naturally more galling to Spain than to other countries, since geographical proximity makes it particularly easy to smuggle notes to and from Spanish territory. On the other hand the Spanish Government had themselves used the Tangier market, or connived at its use, for the purchase of dollars for essential imports. It was this that was largely responsible for the weakening of the peseta. Nevertheless, certain quarters in Spain seem to have had the childish idea that the rate of exchange could be supported artificially, not by enforcing control of the movement of money out of Spain, but by measures to be imposed by the Tangier authorities. Since smuggling of goods accounts for a part of the drain of pesetas to Tangier, the Spanish Consul-General pressed chiefly for the passage by the Committee of Control of the laws to suppress smuggling, which had been rejected by the Legislative Assembly in 1949. Señor del Castillo indicated, however, that he was being urged by his Government to ask for measures of financial control as well and would have to do so unless he received satisfaction over the smuggling question.

6. The anti-smuggling decrees were eventually passed, with suitable amendments to meet the objections of the shipping companies, on 27th February, it being held that, although it was not strictly speaking the responsibility of the International Zone to protect the Spanish revenue, to refuse to take action, in view of the notoriety of the trade, would be discreditable to the Administration and give the Spaniards an additional grievance against the zone.

7. In the meantime, a particularly sharp decline in the exchange rate of the peseta, which fell from 130 to 160 to the £ in February, caused some anxiety in the town and brought the Director of Finance to the help of the Spaniards. M. Cracco had long wished to establish control over the banks in Tangier and he now disingenuously exaggerated the dangers of the situation and suggested that the setting up of a banking association with compulsory membership and rules fixed by the Administration would help to steady the market. At one point it looked as though he might, with the support of the Spanish Consul-General, stampede the Committee of Control into passing a decree. Fortunately no precipitate action was taken. The peseta, supported by certain remedial measures of the Spanish authorities, settled down at a new level of about 150 to the £. And, when M. Cracco produced his draft banking law, the members of the committee had had time to consult the bankers in their respective communities and he was told to submit it first to the Legislative Assembly. This he did not do and nothing more has been heard of the question.

8. M. Cracco had already shown signs of dissatisfaction with his position at Tangier and had been neglecting his work during long absences, on which it was known that he was engaged in looking for other employment. Eventually he was appointed adviser to the Bank of Syria and left at the end of October. When it came to replacing him only two candidates were forthcoming, a Dutchman and a Swede. The Committee of Control decided first of all in favour of the Swedish candidate, M. Carl Murray. M. Murray visited Tangier early in December, when it was unfortunately judged that his knowledge of French was inadequate to enable him to carry out his duties and his Government were accordingly persuaded to get him to resign. The Dutch candidate, M. Struycken, was then invited to visit Tangier but he did not meet with the approval of the (Dutch) Administrator or the Dutch Minister and a decision on his appointment was postponed until 1951.

9. There were also changes in the posts of Legal Adviser and head of the Public Health Department. Señor Cortina Mauri resigned on grounds of health and Dr. Rault, the "médecin de la Zone," was recalled to the French service. It had long been clear that it was desirable to have a new Legal Adviser. The usefulness of Señor Cortina, though an excellent lawyer and a charming man, was impaired by the fact that when Spanish national interests were at stake his opinions always supported the Spanish case. (This was not surprising as he was also Legal Adviser to the Spanish Foreign Ministry.) In addition he was rarely in Tangier, having been seriously ill for some time.

10. A good Spanish candidate for the post of doctor having fortunately appeared and been elected, it was indicated to the Spanish Consul-General that the renewal of Señor Cortina's appointment was not likely to be approved by the Committee of Control. He therefore resigned gracefully, and an Italian, Signor Catalano, was elected in his place in November.

11. The Netherlands Minister informed the Committee of Control in November that his Government intended to recall the Administrator, Jonkheer van Vredenburch, to their service as from 1st August, 1951.

12. Negotiations regarding the frontier between the International and Spanish Zones have been going on during the year between the Spanish authorities in Tetuan and the Belgian Minister, who is head of the Tangier delegation on the Mixed Frontier Commission. Early in the year M. de Radiguès put forward a proposal for a compromise which would have divided the disputed territory roughly in half. The Spaniards rejected this and made a counter-proposal giving them about three-quarters of their claim and threatened, if this were rejected, to go to arbitration. However, during the summer they cooled down, possibly because it looked as though their bluff might be called, and agreed with M. de Radiguès on a line which allowed them slightly more than his first compromise proposal. This tentative agreement was referred to the Governments concerned and has been approved by them all, though the agreement has not yet been ratified.

13. The American interest in the International Administration has shown itself at least as strongly as during 1949. The United States Representative has proved himself an able and conscientious chairman of the Committee of Control. The "Voice of America" relaying station is practically complete and has started working. A conference of American diplomatic and consular officials in North Africa was held in Tangier in October and was attended by Mr. McGhee, one of the Assistant Secretaries of State. At the end of the year rumours were current of American plans to establish military bases in the Spanish Protectorate and these were even connected, so far as is known without any justification, with plans to extend the boundaries of the International Zone.

Administration

14. The Administrator having engaged Mr. R. Graves as Labour Adviser during 1949, he proceeded in 1950 to draw up some basic labour legislation, part of which has been put into force. The first step was to create a Labour Bureau, the law for which was passed by the Legislative Assembly in April after the suspicions of its members had been overcome, and was finally approved by the Committee of Control early in May. In August laws on the hours of work, a weekly day of rest, and the organisation of work in prisons were put through. In October Mr. Graves presented a law on the employment of women and children. This was passed by the Legislative Assembly, but it had not been promulgated by the end of the year, owing to the insistence of the French and Spaniards that the consent of the authorities of their respective zones was required. Two other laws were in draft at the end of the year, one on workmen's compensation for accidents and another on the individual contract of employment. Not content with all this activity, Mr. Graves has further plans for legislation covering minimum wages, accidents, security and health, and a labour exchange, as well as professional associations, not all of which are looked upon with favour by the business and industrial members of the Legislative Assembly. The Labour Bureau which had been authorised by the law of May had not been fully organised by the end of the year. An open competition was published in August for the posts of head of the bureau and three assistants, but no definite appointments had been made by the end of the year and Mr. Graves was accordingly appointed by the Administrator temporary head of the Labour Bureau, which was set up on 1st January.

15. On 1st January, 1950, the Administration took over the water and electricity concessions. For the first six months of the year these were managed for the Administration by the Société Marocaine de Distribution d'Eau, de Gaz et d'Electricité. On 1st July a new independent "Régie des Services de l'Eau et de

l'Electricité" was set up, which took over control of the supply of water and of the production of electricity, as well as the maintenance of the distributive system, the distribution of electricity only being left in the hands of the Compañía Electra Hispano-Marroquí. The supply of both electricity and water has already improved and should be sufficient to cope with all demands by next summer. The Régie is putting in twenty-five new transformers and extending the power station at Mogoga; several new water pipe lines are being constructed and new wells sunk in order to supply the outlying quarters of the town with water.

16. A law has been passed setting up a new Tourist Bureau and a competition for the post of director, for which there are several British candidates, has been announced.

Nationalism

17. The trial of the Shereef el Darkawa has been referred to in the political section of this report. As far as is known, the Nationalists proper had no hand in this affair and for some time afterwards they remained very quiet, apparently fearing that any demonstration might lead to a demand for the expulsion of their leaders. It was not until the month of September that they showed signs of renewed activity and they then became very eloquent on the subject of the "arbitrary inclusion" of Morocco in the Atlantic Pact.

18. The American Consular Conference held in Tangier in October was another occasion for the publication of pamphlets and manifestos demanding that the Moroccan case should be considered by the United Nations.

19. Considerable interest was shown in the Sultan's visit to France and in the memorandum presented by him to the French Government. Although the French gave away no ground, the Nationalists felt that for the first time the Sultan had openly proclaimed himself as being in favour of independence, and both Allal el Fassi and Abdelkhalek Torres have publicly announced that negotiations with the French should now be left in the Sultan's hands.

20. On his return journey from France, the cruiser in which he was travelling stopped in Tangier harbour for a few hours but, apart from diplomats and officials, only a few selected Moors were allowed on board. The Sultan sent messages to the Nationalist leaders saying that the French had prevented him from landing and, as may be expected, this caused a good deal of resentment. Finally the meetings of the "Conseil du Gouvernement" which took place in Rabat in December, although not directly affecting the International Zone, have provoked much discussion among the Nationalists here. They feel that General Juin, by expelling one of the Moroccan members of the council and forbidding him to read his report, has shown once and for all that he has no intention of granting the Moors even semi-autonomy as long as he is Resident-General.

21. Even among non-Nationalists, there is a feeling of antagonism and this gesture has probably done more to unite the various Nationalist groups than any other event which has occurred during the course of the year.

22. So far as the individual leaders are concerned, both Allal el Fassi and Abdelkhalek Torres remain in the International Zone and appear to be reconciled to the idea of being maintained in idleness on party funds.

23. Mekki Nasiri spent the second part of the year in French Morocco and there seems to be little doubt that he is in French pay. In any case he has lost the greater part of his following.

Communism

24. Although the Moroccan Communist Party is a legal organisation, it has for the last two years been more and more inclined to go underground.

25. At the same time, party funds appear to have diminished and this may be a contributing factor to the decrease in overt activity, as both *Espoir*, organ of the Parti Communiste Marocain, and *Le Petit Marocain*, which was Communist-controlled, have had to cease publication owing to lack of funds.

26. There is reason to believe that the Spanish Communist Party keeps in touch with the Partido Comunista Español in Spain, Gibraltar and Casablanca and that the local branch acts as a post-box for distributing propaganda in Spain.

27. It also engages from time to time in smuggling Communists in and out of Spain by means of small fishing vessels.

28. It is understood, however, that the Partido Comunista Español is badly organised and lacks leaders of any category and that the Parti Communiste Marocain has recently been instructed to try and bolster up the Spanish party.

29. As far as the Parti Communiste Marocain is concerned, there does not seem to be much change since last year. The leading members are still French employees of the Administration, the French post office and the French schools.

30. Recruitment for the party is carefully controlled, though it is reported that some attempt is being made to organise cells within the workmen's syndicates.

31. Little overt propaganda is being put out but some old leaflets were stuck on walls at the time when the Nationalists were protesting against the inclusion of Morocco in the Atlantic Pact.

32. It was feared that the Communists and Nationalists might be organising a common front, but it is now thought that the Communist Party simply took advantage of the occasion in order to try to present a façade of solidarity and that their action was not approved by the Nationalist leaders.

33. The increased governmental control of Communists in French Morocco has undoubtedly had some effect in diminishing the overt activities of the Parti Communiste Marocain in Tangier and at the same time threats of expulsion from the Spanish Consulate-General have caused members of the Partido Comunista Español to draw as little attention to themselves as possible.

34. There is no concrete evidence indicating any direct liaison between the local Communist groups and the Russian Consulate in Algiers, but it is believed that a representative of the French Communist Party attends meetings of the central committee of the Parti Communiste Marocain.

Trade

35. It is expected that the total imports into Tangier in 1950 will exceed last year's figures. During the first nine months of the year 7,241 million francs' worth of goods were imported as against 6,542 million during the same period in 1949. The amount for the whole of 1949 was 8,693 million. Exports have also improved and will probably exceed last year's. The figures for the first nine months of the year are 831 million as against 720 million for the same period in 1949, and 901 million for the whole year. The United Kingdom's share for the period January–September 1950 was: imports, 548 million; exports, 8 million, which shows an improvement in both figures compared with the same period the year before. Figures for the whole of 1949 were: imports, 657 million and exports 10 million. Building material was, as in 1949, the principal bulk of imports. Construction of new buildings continues briskly and more than anything else provides employment for the large capital sums that constantly flow into Tangier. Shrewd builders can secure as much as 20 per cent. per annum on their capital, but well-built houses can be counted on to yield a return of 10 per cent. at least.

36. *Rates of exchange.*—The rates of exchange of the four principal currencies on the Tangier market, viz., pounds, dollars, pesetas and francs, kept steady during the year, fluctuating a little, with the exception of the peseta, which dropped sharply at the beginning of the year. It started the year at 129·50 to the £, to reach its lowest on 28th February at 165·50. The Spanish Government, it appeared, took measures to stop the rot with the result that, aided by the grant of a loan by the National Bank of New York of 2 million dollars, the peseta improved, reaching its best during the year on 17th July at 122·50. But it soon lost ground again, to close on 31st December at 146. The franc fluctuated between 990 and 1,100 to the £ and closed at the end of the year at 1,060. Sterling in terms of the dollar kept steady during the year round about the official rate of 2·80.

Finance

37. M. Cracco, the astute Belgian Director of Finance, resigned during the year and his successor has not yet been appointed.

38. Once again the Administration's expenditure has fallen well below the estimates, while the revenue has remained buoyant. On 30th November, out of credits of 2,247 million voted in the budget only 1,198 million francs had been spent. Actual revenue collected during 1950 exceeded the estimate by over 200 million francs; the surplus on the "Ordinary Budget" at 31st December was over 500 million francs but this will be reduced considerably by the deficit on the "Extraordinary Budget" at the end of the financial year. The purchase by the Administration of the water and electricity concessions was a heavy burden on the zone's finances, even if payments have been contracted by instalments, but on the face of it the financial situation of the Administration appears to be sound. Short-term borrowing from the Banque d'Etat, which had been authorised up to 750 million francs pending the issue of a loan to meet the payments to the ex-concessionaires and a heavy programme of public works, was reduced at the end of the year to 50 million.

39. Only the ordinary budget for 1951 has been finally approved by the Committee of Control but the basic figures for both ordinary and extraordinary budgets are as follows:—

		Fr.
Ordinary budget—		
Receipts	...	1,073,283,000
Expenses	...	1,066,126,826
Surplus	...	7,156,174
Extraordinary budget—		
Receipts (including borrowing)	...	967,000,000
Expenses	...	967,000,000

Port

40. The port of Tangier has been improved during 1950 by the construction of two new quays, one on the outer mole and one in the inner harbour. The port authorities have been studying how to prevent the silting up of the harbour, and in August a law was passed authorising the expenditure of 30 million francs to build a scale model of the harbour for this purpose. Decisions on further work to be undertaken, including the provision of additional quay space, are held up pending the report of the French company which is preparing the model. This is expected about August. Some trouble was experienced over the allocation of berth space between the British and Spanish shipping lines that run services across the Straits of Gibraltar, but the port authorities proved very helpful both in this case and in most cases where it was necessary to bring one of His Majesty's ships alongside.

41. Negotiations are in progress between the Administration and the Port Company concerning their respective rights in a valuable piece of reclaimed land adjoining the harbour.

Aviation

42. The Tangier airport, which is owned by Air France, has a good runway and a fairly good road approach. It is now being used for regular services by the following air lines: Air France, Gibraltar Airways, Iberia, Aero-Portuguesa, Aigle Azur, T.A.I.M.N., Air Atlas and Air Maroc. It is occasionally visited by B.E.A.C. and R.A.F. aircraft when weather conditions at Gibraltar are bad, and frequently by American naval aircraft from Port Lyautey.

43. Gibraltar Airways have opened up new routes connecting Tangier with Tetuan, Málaga, Seville and Granada. By the Anglo-Spanish Civil Aviation Agreement of 1950, no British air line or lines may carry passengers from Madrid to Tangier in one day, this service being reserved for the Spanish air line.

Naval Visits

44. On 27th March the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, Admiral Sir Arthur Power, K.C.B., C.B.E., C.V.O., visited Tangier in H.M.S. *Surprise* on a farewell call before relinquishing his command. In August the new Flag Officer, Gibraltar, Rear-Admiral Lord Ashborne, C.B., D.S.O., paid official calls in Tangier. From 16th to 20th September Tangier was visited by the aircraft carrier H.M.S. *Glory*, wearing the flag of Rear-Admiral G. Grantham, C.B.E., D.S.O., accompanied by the destroyer H.M.S. *Saintes*. The visit was a success and there were no incidents. During the year several "one-day excursion" visits were made to Tangier from Gibraltar by destroyers and frigates and also by two Royal Air Force vessels. On 14th October Tangier was visited for five days by the tug H.M.S. *Reward* and two submarines, H.M.S. *Anchorite* and H.M.S. *Affray*.

Wireless

45. No new wireless stations were opened in Tangier during the year. The "Voice of America" station started operating and was due to be handed over complete by the contractors to the State Department on 1st January, but it is believed that the installation was not quite ready on that date. "Radio Africa" and "Radio Internationale" continued their broadcasting directed largely at Spain. The latter station plans to increase its output from 10 to 50 kilowatts in 1951 and has ordered U.S.$125,000 of equipment from the British firm of Standard Cables. The American-owned "Panamerican Radio" station has continued to broadcast currency exchange rates, under a renewed licence issued by the Administration in 1950.

46. The Administration's efforts to control amateur stations have been hampered by the lack of technical services and by the fact that the International Zone has not adhered to the Atlantic City Convention of 1947 and is not a member of the International Telecommunication Union.

Contraband

47. The concern of the Spanish authorities over the smuggling originating in Tangier continued during 1950, and it was at their insistence that two anti-smuggling ordinances were passed (see above). The main condition was that agents were responsible for presenting a manifest of the goods exported within 24 hours of the boat leaving the port. There were one or two protests by British agents against the application of this ordinance during the year, and towards the end further protests were received against attempts by the customs to enforce the inspection of log-books and the translation of all manifests, both for incoming and outgoing goods, into one of the official languages of the zone. Official protests were made to the Administrator on these points, but no reply had been received by the end of the year.

48. In July an incident occurred at the mouth of the Jews' River west of the main harbour, when a Spanish naval vessel kidnapped a motor launch, *Texas Ranger*, which was loaded with cigarettes and penicillin. The identity of the owners and the nationality of the vessel were not clear. There was no doubt that this capture was effected well within Tangier territorial waters, but when taxed with it the Spanish Minister stated that he had been informed by the Spanish naval officer concerned that the yacht had been found on the high seas. In view of the Spanish official attitude it was decided not to bring the case up at the Committee of Control. Some months later we were informed that witnesses had stated before a magistrate in Ceuta, where the vessel had been taken, that the capture was in fact effected in Tangier territorial waters, and it is understood that the Captain of the Spanish naval vessel lost his command.

JM 1013/1 No. 16

POLITICAL REPORT, OCTOBER–DECEMBER 1950

Consul-General Stirling to Mr. Bevin. (Received 27th January)

(No. 13) *Tangier, 24th January*, 1951.

Political Parties

The leaders of two out of the four main Nationalist Parties in Morocco, Allal el Fassi of the Istiqlal, and Abdelkhallek Torres of the Moroccan Reform Party, were in Tangier at the end of the year. Of the four parties, only the Istiqlal has any real following in the International Zone, where Allal el Fassi is honoured and respected. Si Allal has no paper of his own in Tangier, but he edits the Istiqlal *Bulletin de Documentation et d'Information* which has a wide circulation in the French Zone.

2. Abdelkhallek Torres and Mahdi Benouna are the leading members of the Moroccan Reform Party in Tangier, but the party's support comes mainly from the Spanish Zone of Morocco. Torres is to be seen at the house of Abderrahman Menebhi (No. 9 (Moslems) in Tangier Personalities Report for 1950) and is known to be in touch with the American Legation in Tangier.

3. The head of the Moroccan Unity Party, Mekki Nasiri, has spent most of the last six months in the French Zone, but returned to Tangier in December for ten days. He held a meeting at which he made a speech claiming to have had great success in recruiting followers in the French Zone, and thus trying to prove that the Istiqlal was not the only Nationalist Party either in the French or in the International Zone of Morocco. When in December two of the Istiqlal members of the Conseil de Gouvernement in Rabat, Lyazidi and Laghzaoui, with ten others, left the meeting after making violent criticism of the French Administration, Nasiri published an article in his newspaper, *Minbar el Shaab*, which did not give them wholehearted support and was even critical of the Istiqlal members of the Council, which body, he suggested, should contain representatives from other parties. This article caused great indignation amongst the members of Istiqlal in Tangier. The editor of the English-language weekly, the *Tangier Gazette*, published an article on the front page praising Mekki Nasiri and condemning Lyazidi. Si Mahdi Benouna replied in a letter which ended by saying that "the Moroccans hate to see an Englishman, who is supposed to be a non-interested party, put himself in the position of the most ardent defenders of French imperialism." Both the editor (Major F. H. Mellor) and Nasiri are generally believed to be subsidised by the French.

4. The Moroccan Independence Party of Hassan el Ouezzani has little following in Tangier.

5. The Nationalists were much excited by the visit of the Sultan to the port on his

return from France to Morocco in November. They were, however, incensed by the elaborate police measures taken to prevent people approaching the port and the ship, and the Sultan is believed to have sent a message to say that he was not pleased that he had not been allowed to land in Tangier. He also apparently said to those who were allowed to go on board the French cruiser that he hoped to see them again in different circumstances. The result of his visit to France had been to raise his prestige amongst his own subjects, and most Nationalists now seem prepared to accept him as their natural leader.

6. At the American Consular Conference held in Tangier in October, both Allal el Fassi and Abdelkhallek Torres are believed to have been interviewed in the American Legation. It is understood that Hassan el Ouezzani also prepared a brief for presentation to the American Legation on this occasion. The Americans have constant and quite open contacts with the Nationalists in Tangier, who complain that they do not get similar treatment from the British.

7. The incident between Hadj Thami el Glaoui, Pasha of Marrakech, and the Sultan at the end of the year on the occasion of the feast of the Mulud was much commented on in Tangier. The Istiqlal Party put out a communiqué condemning the Glaoui's action in criticising the Sultan and giving an uncomplimentary summary of the Glaoui's career. They claimed that the Glaoui was nothing but a French stooge who had probably been put up to this action by the French Administration in order to divide the Moroccans and to weaken the position of Istiqlal.

Communism

8. The Communists in the International Zone of Tangier are keeping very much underground. The main body of Communists in Tangier are members of the Spanish Communist Party (*Partido Communista Español* (P.C.E.); there are also some members of the *Parti Communiste Marocain* (P.C.M.) who have got into the Administration and the police. It is also believed that one of the writers on the *Minbar el Shaab*, the paper produced by Mekki Nasiri in Tangier with the aid of French funds, has Communist leanings. The name of the man in question is Mohamed ben Lahcen Sekouri.

9. There are no trade unions in Tangier, but a start has been made by the Administration with labour legislation under the guidance of Mr. R. M. Graves, late of the Palestine Government. A Labour Bureau has been set up, though not yet staffed, and laws have been passed about hours of work and weekly days of rest, &c., with further laws about the employment of women and children, minimum wages and workers' compensation in the offing. This move, which originated with the Administrator himself, has caused a certain amount of alarm amongst business and industrial circles in Tangier. They fear that it is the first step towards establishing trade unions, which in the local conditions they say would provide a focus for labour unrest as well as for Communist activities.

Nationalists and the International Administration

10. At the beginning of November the Assistant Administrator for Moroccan Affairs, M. Girardière, complained to the Committee of Control about the activities of Allal el Fassi, who, he alleged, had been distributing handbills calling to Moroccans to prepare for a holy war. The exact text of the handbill was not produced, but the matter was discussed by the Committee of Control and it was decided to warn Allal el Fassi that under the laws of the zone he could not hold demonstrations or public meetings without previous authorisation from the Administrator.

11. A written complaint signed by some eighty Moors was sent to the President of the Committee of Control in November, complaining that certain officials of the Administration were maltreating Moors and disregarding their interests, acting evidently on orders from Rabat. No specific charge was made an dno individual was mentioned, but it is known that the officials about whom these people wished to complain were M. Girardière, the Assistant Administrator, and Commandant Artous, the French second-in-command of the police. The Committee of Control forwarded the complaint to the Administrator, who got the police to question the signatories of the document. This was done by the police, who reported that the document had been drawn up by a member of the Istiqlal Party, that only twenty-four of the signatories could be traced, that of these seven had signed without really knowing what it was about, and that of the remainder five were well-known Nationalists who had organised the complaint with their own interests in mind. It is, however, true to say that some of the French officials of the Administration do favour those Moors who are known to be friendly towards France in the matter of promotion and of recommending them for import licences into the French Zone, &c., and one or two of the other grievances appear to be justified. The police report does not mention the fact that Commandant Artous was one of the persons against whom the signatories of the protest wished to complain.

12. Towards the end of the year the Mendoub became nettled by some articles appearing in *Ray el Aam*, Hassan el Ouezzani's paper published in Rabat, criticising him as the tool of the French and a figurehead in the Legislative Assembly. He actually spoke about this to the British Vice-President of the Assembly, who managed to calm him down. The Mendoub also summoned Mekki Nasiri's lieutenant, Temsamani, to his house and arranged for four laudatory and well-paid articles about himself to be published in *Minbar el Shaab*. Three of these appeared in due course, but after Mekki Nasiri came to Tangier in December the fourth one was stopped. Nasiri seems to have thought that this was going too far.

13. At the session of the Legislative Assembly on 18th December, the Moroccan members proposed a resolution pointing out that jobs in the Administration were not given to Moors in proportion to their numbers in the population and that it was very difficult for Moroccans to get any senior posts in the Administration at all. This motion was not accepted on that occasion, and it is not certain whether it will be allowed to be put on the agenda for the next meeting. The Administrator claims that it is not within the competence of the Assembly. In fact, almost exactly half the employees of the Administration are Moroccans and, while not many of the senior posts are staffed by them, these posts are open to all nationalities alike by open competition, and if Moroccans have not obtained them it is because they are not sufficiently qualified.

Reaction to World Events

14. The reactions of the Moroccans in Tangier to the war in Korea were very simple. The initial withdrawal of American troops in the summer lowered American prestige in the Moroccans' eyes, which was raised again by the subsequent landing and advance up to the frontiers of Manchuria. Prestige has again been lowered by the recent withdrawal in face of the Chinese hordes.

Press

15. The only Arabic paper published in Tangier is the *Minbar el Shaab*, which is the organ of Mekki Nasiri's Moroccan Unity Party, and was formerly edited by Tamsamani. The present editor is Mohamed Ducali, who wrote the articles in praise of the Mendoub (paragraph 12). The paper is undoubtedly subsidised by the French, for whom Mekki Nasiri has been working. There is little doubt that the three articles mentioned above were inserted by Temsamani on payment of a good fee by the Mendoub. During October a vituperative article on British administration in Aden and the surrounding protectorates was published by this paper. This article was apparently a reprint of an article published in Cairo by an author, who is known to be violently anti-British. It is understood that the Administration made it clear to the editor that such articles were not looked upon with favour.

16. *España* and *La Dépêche Marocaine* continue to be the most important papers published in Tangier. The quality of the *Dépêche* has improved noticeably during the quarter as a result of the changes instituted at the instigation of the French Consulate-General (see my despatch No. 148 of 5th December, 1950, Report on the Press in Tangier).

JF 1022/5 No. 17

SITUATION IN FRENCH MOROCCO

Consul-General Stirling to Mr. Bevin. (*Received* 31*st January*)

(No. 4. Secret) *Tangier,*
(Telegraphic) 31*st January*, 1951.

Secretary of Reform Party, Tayib Bennouna, sent his brother to see [? group omitted] to-day to tell me that he, Bennouna, had just returned from Rabat where the Sultan had asked him to deliver the following message:—

1. He was unable to do so in person being in bed with influenza.

2. French Resident-General on Friday last informed the Sultan that he would press him to abdicate unless he accepted certain terms, namely—

(*a*) to drop certain members of his entourage;
(*b*) to declare that he would support French policy and that he had no further claims to put forward;
(*c*) to renounce publicly all support for the Independence Party and to concur in instructions to competent French and Moorish officials to suppress the party.

3. Resident-General stated that he would allow the Sultan to reflect while he was visiting Paris and Washington. He [? group omitted] confident of obtaining support for his ultimatum in both capitals since it was dictated by the imminent danger of tending to overlook blindly the precautionary measures necessary.

4. Sultan felt that he could not accept the ultimatum and did not think that the United States Government or His Majesty's Government as signatories of the Moroccan Treaties, would acquiesce [? group omitted] he feared that possible arrests by the French might prevent the information reaching His Majesty's Consul-General at Rabat. Hence his message to me.

5. I reminded Bennouna that I was not accredited to the Sultan and that it was not for me to comment on his message, but that I would of course inform you.

6. United States Minister has received similar information. It seems clear that the Resident-General is using his visit to Paris and Washington to intimidate the Sultan and that the latter is attempting to forestall him.

7. Report given to me by both sides that the Sultan's palace is surrounded by French troops with machine guns is not confirmed by the United States air attaché.

JM 1013/6 No. 18

POLITICAL REPORT, APRIL–JUNE 1951

Consul-General Stirling to Mr. Younger. (*Received 27th August*)

(No. 115) *Tangier,* *20th August,* 1951

General

During this quarter Tangier became a centre of activity on the part of the Moroccan Nationalist movement. As a result of the crisis in the relations between General Juin and the Sultan in February of this year, the activities of the Nationalists in the French Zone were severely restricted, and accordingly the headquarters of the Istiqlal and Democratic Independence Parties were transferred to Tangier, where the leaders of the Moroccan Reform and the Moroccan Unity Parties were already in residence, together with Allal el Fassi, the leader of the Istiqlal Party.

Activities of Political Parties

2. The most important event was the agreement signed by the four Moroccan Nationalist Parties in Tangier on 9th April, establishing a union of the four parties, or Moroccan National Front. The text of this agreement was reported at the time: the most important items were that the Nationalist Parties bound themselves to work for complete independence, to refuse to accept the principle of the French Union or to negotiate with the " colonialists " within the framework of the existing régime; they also undertook not to work with the Moroccan Communist Party. There were also some secret articles of the agreement whereby the parties agreed to be prepared to use force if necessary, to reorganise themselves in a system of cells, and to organise clandestine communications between the French, Spanish and Tangier Zones and also between Tangier and Cairo. Under this agreement a consultative committee composed of members of the four parties was set up in Tangier and eventually issued a rather mildly-worded manifesto in June, stating that the National Front wished to establish the complete independence of Morocco under a constitutional monarch and that relations between France and Morocco should be based on goodwill and free collaboration.

3. The agreement between the parties had been brought about largely by the efforts of an Egyptian, Abu el Fath, who visited the International Zone during April, accompanied by a delegation of Egyptian journalists. During this period visits were also made to Tangier and to the Spanish Zone by an Arab League delegate and a journalist from Pakistan. Parties were given for these visitors by the Nationalists in Tangier, particularly after the National Front had been established, which became more like public meetings than private parties. Abu el Fath was summoned for interview by the president of the Committee of Control on 12th April, warned that his activities in Tangier were causing trouble and advised to leave the Zone as soon as possible.

4. Subsequently, at the instigation of the Committee of Control, an enquiry was undertaken by the *parquet* of the Mixed Tribunal into certain activities of the leading Nationalists who were alleged to have acted against the established order in the neighbouring zones, as well as to have broken certain local regulations dealing with public meetings and propaganda. The Belgian judge of the Mixed Tribunal, acting as *juge d'instruction*, questioned nine of the leaders in turn in his office. On 23rd April Allal el Fassi was questioned and a demonstration was made outside the tribunal, during which there was a violent incident between the British journalist, Miss Margaret Pope, and the second-in-command of the International Police, Commandant Artous. The case for the trial of the Nationalist leaders was sent forward to the *chambre de mise en accusation*, which, presided by the British judge, returned the case to the *juge d'instruction* on 9th May on a point of procedure submitted by the defence. The case has since been postponed, and it is uncertain whether it will ever be resumed, the French *procureur* being perhaps doubtful whether he would obtain a conviction.

5. The individual Nationalist Parties were active on their own account during this quarter as well as within the National Front. Thus Hassan el Wazzani, who had been unable to get a permit to leave the French Zone, sent his lieutenant, Ahmed ben Suda, to Tangier to set up a branch of the Democratic Independence Party in the International Zone, which had just been established when Ahmed ben Suda signed the agreement on 9th April. Mekki Nasiri remained in Tangier during the quarter and was seen to have turned completely against the French, who were his former paymasters. He made two visits to His Majesty's Consul in Tangier to protest about what he called French interference in the tribunal and at an incident which occurred on 4th May, when preachers in two of the mosques in Tangier were prevented from preaching by the Kadi, who was believed to have been acting at the instigation of the French. During this period the tone of Mekki Nasiri's Arabic newspaper, *Minbar al Sha'ab*, became violently anti-French, and was obviously being used as the organ of the National Front. Allal e Fassi has also been making an intensive propaganda effort during the quarter ever since the establishment of the National Front, and his appearance at the Mixed Tribunal gained him considerable popular favour. Towards the end of June he applied for a visa for the United Kingdom, where he had been invited to address a meeting in the House of Commons of the " Africa Group " of the Parliamentary Labour Party. The other Nationalist leader in Tangier, Abdel-Khalek Torres, of the Reform Party, has also remained in Tangier in spite of an invitation from the Spanish authorities to return to the Spanish Zone.

Communism and Labour

6. During April and on 1st and 5th May Communist leaflets were distributed in Tangier. As a result of an enquiry made by the International Police, eleven individuals were tried in June by the Mixed Tribunal for spreading propaganda calculated to disturb the public order. Of the eleven accused, four only were convicted on 13th June; they were given sentences varying from three months' imprisonment with *sursis* and a fine of 5,000 fr. to six months' imprisonment with a fine of 100,000 francs. The colonel commanding the International Police and the Administrator considered that three of the acquitted, consisting of a Portuguese and two Frenchmen, were dangerous Communists and recommended that they should be expelled by the Committee of Control, together with two Spaniards who were convicted by the court. This recommendation was due to be considered by the Committee of Control at the beginning of July.

Relations between Political Leaders and International Administration

7. Nothing to report.

Proposals for Reform, &c.

8. Nothing to report.

Reaction to World Events

9. Moroccans in Tangier have been busy with their own problems and with those of the Nationalist leaders in Tangier during the period under review. The *Minbar al Sha'ab* has occasionally reported political developments in Tunisia and Algeria. During his second visit to His Majesty's Consul in Tangier, on 26th May, Mekki Nasiri was fulsome in his praise of Britain's policy of educating the nations under her protection or mandate and bringing them to full sovereignty. He made special mention of the independence of Lybia.

10. The Anglo-Persian crisis was followed with interest by all Europeans in Tangier. Both the *España* and the *Dépêche Marocaine* reported events in Persia with reasonable fairness though not without some satisfaction at the discomfiture of the British.

Press

11. Mekki Nasiri's *Minbar al Sha'ab* remains the only Arabic-language newspaper in the International Zone. The policy of the paper is now completely anti-French, and it is surprising that the violence of some of the articles has not produced a demand from the French Minister for the paper's suppression by the Committee of Control. It is known that some of the more violent articles have been written by Allal el Fassi and his assistant, Abderrahman Anegay, secretary of the Istiqlal Party in Tangier. Strong articles were published in May about alleged French interference with the preachers at the Tangier mosques, and in June alleging the bloody repression by the French of disorders in the Middle Atlas.

JM 1013/8 No. 19

POLITICAL REPORT, JULY–SEPTEMBER 1951

Mr. Consul Pinsent to Mr. Eden. (*Received 4th December*)

Tangier,
(No. 148) *20th November,* 1951.

Activities of Political Parties

During this quarter the leaders of two of the main Nationalist parties, Allal el Fassi, of the Istiqlal, and Mohamed Hassan el Wazzani, of the Moroccan Independence Party, left Tangier for Cairo via Madrid. Allal el Fassi had previously been trying to obtain a visa for the United Kingdom, but when it was not granted immediately he gave up the idea of going to the United Kingdom for the time being and applied for a transit visa for Gibraltar. After some delay it was decided to grant him the transit visa and he was informed, much to the disgust of the French Consul-General in Tangier, that it would be granted. However, on 30th July Allal el Fassi left Tangier by the Spanish air line " Iberia " for Madrid and went on from there to Cairo, where he arrived on 3rd August. Allal el Fassi had been preceded to Madrid by Miss Margaret Pope, the pro-Nationalist British journalist, who arrived in Madrid two days before him, no doubt in order to prepare the way. On arriving in Cairo, Allal el Fassi declared to the press that he had gone there in order to help the Arab nations to prepare the Moroccan case for presentation to the General Assembly of the United Nations in November. Within a few days of arriving he was received by Nahas Pasha and also by Azzam Pasha.

2. Hassan el Wazzani, who had been organising the affairs of the Moroccan Independence Party in the French Zone of Morocco, arrived in Tangier on 4th August. As he had not been out of the French Zone for some time, it was surmised that the French had only given him an exit permit because they considered that he was more level-headed than the other Nationalist leaders and hoped that he would be able to bring moderation to their councils. On 8th August, el Wazzani, accompanied by his lieutenant, Ahmed ben Suda, flew to Madrid and then on to Cairo. When they arrived in Cairo they were met by Salah Abu Rakik, who had been in Tangier during the spring, when the Moroccan National Front had been organised, and also by the Mufti, Hadj Amin el Hussein. Within a few days they were received by Azzam Pasha and his assistant, Shekiri Bey, who promised them that the Moroccan case would be taken to the United Nations by Egypt and the other countries of the Arab League.

3. During the rest of this quarter Allal el Fassi and Hassan el Wazzani spent their time travelling around the Arab countries, having meetings with politicians in Syria, and trying to arouse interest in the Moroccan case amongst all Arab Governments. El Wazzani even made the pilgrimage to Mecca, though it is believed that he did so more for political than for religious purposes. In the middle of September, Allal el Fassi wrote to his friends of the Moroccan National Front in Tangier and asked them to organise demonstrations on 21st September, which was to be celebrated as the Day of the Unity of the Nile Valley. However, no demonstration took place on this day and the Moors appeared to take little interest.

4. While Allal el Fassi and Hassan el Wazzani were engaged in their travels round the Middle East, the other two leading members of the Moroccan National Front, Abdelkhalek Torres, of the Moroccan Reform Party, and Mohamed Mekki Nasiri, of the Moroccan Unity Party, remained in Tangier, intensifying their propaganda effort. During August there was an approach to Torres in Tangier from the Spanish authorities, who asked him on what terms he would be prepared to return to the Spanish Zone of Morocco. Torres apparently replied that he would insist on the three freedoms of speech, press and political association; it appears that no definite response was made to this demand. It appears also that the Istiqlal Party were not pleased with this unilateral effort at negotiation by Torres and the Reform Party, and a senior member of the Istiqlal Party in France came to Tangier to investigate. Mekki Nasiri was not openly active during this period, except to put his daily Arabic newspaper, the *Minbar ash-Sha'ab,* entirely at the disposal of the Moroccan National Front.

5. The enquiry into the activities of the Nationalist leaders, which had been started in the Mixed Court during May and had continued into June, did not continue during the third quarter of the year. The Belgian and British judges concerned had made it quite clear to the French procureur that there was not sufficient evidence to pin any charge of activities directed against the established order in the neighbouring zones on any of the Nationalist leaders in Tangier. The case was therefore dropped and it is not likely to be brought up again unless fresh evidence can be provided.

Communism and Labour

6. On 3rd July the Committee of Control decided to expel three persons from the International Zone under the terms of Article 7 (*e*) of the Franco-British Agreement of 1945, on the grounds that their presence in the zone constituted a threat to public order. The three consisted of the Portuguese head of the Communist Party in Tangier, one Spaniard and a French leader of a Communist cell. The Portuguese and the Frenchman left the zone, but the Spaniard tried to claim asylum as a political refugee, which was refused to him by the Committee of Control since he had abused the hospitality of the zone by inciting people to disorder in the zone itself. By the end of the quarter he still had not been able to leave the zone, since he could not obtain visas for any nearby country and it looked as if he would have to be kept in Tangier indefinitely under police surveillance.

Relations with the Administration and Committee of Control

7. The day after Allal el Fassi left Tangier on 30th July, the French Minister protested in the Committee of Control that his departure had been assisted by the Spanish and the British Consulates in Tangier. He knew that el Fassi was travelling on an Egyptian travel document, which in his opinion was not valid, and he asked the Committee of Control to instruct the Administrator to exclude el Fassi from Tangier should he come back on the same document. His Majesty's Consul-General replied that he knew of no irregularity in Allal el Fassi's departure and expressed his disagreement with the proposal to instruct the Administrator to exclude el Fassi from the zone merely on the grounds of possessing false papers. He explained to the French representative later that he would be prepared to request instructions if a formal proposal for the expulsion of Allal el Fassi were put forward. Whether owing to a misunderstanding or not, a letter was sent to the Administrator instructing him to exclude Allal el Fassi, and at a subsequent meeting, when Mr. Stirling had protested about this action, the Committee of Control finally voted, against the American, Spanish and British votes, to maintain the letter and thus to keep out el Fassi on the grounds that his papers were not in order. This incident led to some difficulty with the French Government, who were eventually placated when the circumstances were fully explained.

New Administrator

8. Jonkheer H. van Vredenburch having resigned, he was succeeded as Administrator of the International Zone by M. José Luiz Archer, who had previously been Portuguese

Consul-General in Tangier, with personal rank of Minister. An efficient and energetic little man, he declared on taking up his job that his first tasks would be to tackle the housing problem and to improve shipping facilities in the harbour. M. Archer is a man with plenty of initiative, which may bring him into conflict with the Committee of Control, of which he has been both a member and president.

Reaction to World Events

9. The reaction of most Moroccans in Tangier to the Anglo-Persian oil crisis has been one of sympathy towards both sides. Mekki Nasiri has stated that he is confident that Great Britain, with her political experience and wisdom, will be able to find a satisfactory solution. His newspaper, *Minbar ash-Sha'ab,* did, however, publish an article at the end of September in praise of Mossadeq.

10. The difficult relations of Britain and Egypt have also been followed very closely in Tangier. The Europeans have very little sympathy with the Egyptians, but the Moroccan Nationalists have had to support Egypt in return for the promise of Arab League support of the Moroccan case at the United Nations. Many of them say privately that they do not wish to become involved in a quarrel which is none of their business, but that they cannot say so in public.

Press

11. The Arabic language daily newspaper, *Minbar ash-Sha'ab* (Tribune of the People), owned by Mohamed Mekki Nasiri and edited by Abdesselam Temsamani, continued to act as the organ of the Moroccan National Front. An article signed by Abdelkhalek Torres appeared during September warning both America and Britain of the dangers of supporting French "colonialist" policy. The movements and speeches of the Moroccan Nationalist leaders in the Middle East were all carefully reported.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JM 1012/1 No. 20

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN TANGIER

Consul-General Stirling to Mr. Morrison. (Received 27th August)

(No. 114. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *20th August,* 1951.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on leading personalities at Tangier for the year 1951.

I have, &c.
C. N. STIRLING.

Enclosure in No. 20

Report on the Leading Personalities in the Tangier Zone of Morocco

EUROPEANS

1. Aldegunde, Reverend Father Francisco
Spaniard. Franciscan. Succeeded Father Betanzos as Bishop of Tangier and Spanish Morocco with title of Bishop of Fussala. Pleasant middle-aged man who seems broad-minded and friendly. The able and intelligent Padre Lopez continues as his secretary.

2. Apostoli, Giovanni
Italian judge, appointed in succession to Fernando Malmusi, when the latter was revoked on account of his Fascist tendencies in 1945. Apostoli is not a brilliant jurist nor an outstanding personality, but he appears to enjoy a fair reputation for honesty locally.

3. Archer, José Luiz
Succeeded Jonkheer van Vredenburch as Administrator in August 1951.
Was Portuguese consul-general with personal rank of minister in Tangier from 1947 to 1951 when he was appointed Administrator of the International Zone. Had previously served in Vigo, Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon. He was president of the Committee of Control in 1949, a position which he filled successfully and impartially. He is energetic and pleased with himself, with a typical Portuguese suavity of manner and a considerable gift for compromise. Mme. Archer is a pleasant, if rather dull, creature. They have two married children and a daughter of 18.

4. Artous, Louis
French second-in-command of the International Police and virtually in control of it. Was in the resistance movement in France during the war and was imprisoned at Buchenwald. An agreeable and shrewd personality, who effectively presses French interests. It has been rumoured that he is a crypto-Communist but no evidence against him is so far forthcoming.

5. Bastianelli, Auguste
Director of French Public Instruction in Tangier and also for the whole of the French Zone with headquarters in Tangier. The institutions he controls cover some 5,000 pupils. Politically he took the line of least resistance through the war. He is an able administrator, but is not well liked by his staff.

6. Catalano, Nicolá
Italian Legal Adviser to the Administration.
Born 1910, obtained doctorate in law at Rome in 1933. Held an academic post at Rome University from 1939, is an "*avocat de l'état*" in Italy, and has held various Government jobs including those of Italian Government representative on Conciliation Commissions set up under the peace treaty. Was also legal adviser to Italian delegation on Italo-Yugoslav Commission.
Appointed to his present post in October 1950.

7. Crambes, Dr.
French Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, and president of the Anciens Combattants. He is generally regarded as being friendly in his attitude towards us.

8. De los Campos, Villarejo
Spaniard, born about 1900. Procureur of the Mixed Court, a post which he combines with similar functions in Tetuan. Rarely visits Tangier. Has British wife of Gibraltar origin and is believed to be not unfriendly.

9. Doolittle, Hooker Austin
United States Consul in Tangier for several years before the war. Was appointed consul-general, Tunis, in 1940 and subsequently served in Egypt and Pakistan and on a mission for the United Nations in Indonesia. Retired from the Foreign Service in 1951 and returned to Tangier where he intends to settle down. Is one of the American members of the Legislative Assembly. Doolittle has a good knowledge of Morocco and a forceful personality which sometimes brings him into conflict with the United States Legation. He is pro-Nationalist, and inclined to be indiscreet in his friendships but this is largely due to his avowed dislike of convention and protocol. Married to a White Russian.

10. Ellis, Lieut.-Colonel W. F., C.M.G., O.B.E.
British Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly. Retiring from the R.A.M.C., Colonel Ellis originally came to Tangier over twenty years ago as medical practitioner. He later founded the prosperous firm of Ellis and Co. During the war he was chief of the Press Office and received the C.M.G. in recognition of his work. He is an able and hard-headed business man, with a finger in many Tangier pies and extremely well informed on Tangier subjects, but his views are apt to be coloured by his own personal interest. He is correspondent of the London *Times*. One of the most forceful personalities in Tangier, though he is beginning to feel his age.

11. Girardière, Edmond
French Assistant Administrator of Native Affairs. An intelligent and able man, with considerable

administrative experience, who appears to have the interests of the natives genuinely at heart, though he reacts as a Frenchman to political issues.

12. González Gordon, Pedro (Marqués de Torresoto)
Spaniard, born about 1886. Head of the sherry firm of González Byass. Very wealthy. Very pro-British, speaks English perfectly, related to the Gilbey family. Monarchist and anti-Falange.

13. Hubert, Paul
Appointed *Contrôleur* of the Mendoubia in 1950. Is also *Commissaire du Gouvernement* at the Mendoub's Tribunal. Is rarely met outside French circles, but is believed to co-operate closely with Girardière in suppressing Nationalist activities.

14. Humbert, René
French member of the Legislative Assembly, and Director of the Port Concession.

15. Jorro y Andreu, José
Spanish vice-president of the Legislative Assembly, and president of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce. Representative in Morocco of Juan March. Has large business interests in Tangier and owns a considerable amount of property.

16. Katzaros, John
Of Greek origin, has been naturalised as a British subject. The Katzaros family have been connected with the British Legation and subsequently with the Consulate-general for the past sixty years, and were generally thought in Tangier to be British. They talk English at home. John Katzaros is secretary to the Legislative Assembly.

17. Legrand, Lieut.-Colonel V. J.
Chief of Police. The colonel is a nominee of the Belgian Government and was accompanied by nine other Belgian police officials. He gets on well with the French, who have made much of him. He does not appear to be as alive as his subordinates are to an undercurrent of French hostility to the Belgians. He is very much influenced by his French second-in-command, Commandant Artous.

18. Lemass, Edwin
British Judge in the Mixed Tribunal. Appointed 1st November, 1949.
Born 1890. Called to the bar in Dublin 1912. Served in the army from 1914–18. From 1920–49 was employed in the Egyptian judicial service where he became a Judge of the Mixed Court in 1932. He is good-natured and easy going with plenty of common sense, but not a particulary incisive or forceful character.

19. Mèlenotte, Raoul
Chief engineer of the Public Works of the Zone. A pleasant type of French official. Hard working and efficient but is said to take bribes.

20. Merry, Diaz Manuel
Spanish judge of the Mixed Court, born about 1886. An able lawyer, but given to deciding cases by the light of reason rather than the rule of law. Acts as President of Appeal Court; reported to be under the influence of Catholic Church.

21. Parladé, Jaime
Spaniard, born about 1900. Educated at Stonyhurst. Originally an officer in the artillery and later in the International Gendarmerie of the International Zone. Remained in Tangier until just before end of civil war, in which he participated on the side of General Franco. Is now managing director of the local telephone company, which he runs efficiently; also engages in miscellaneous commercial transactions of a speculative kind. Affects to be pro-British, but was friendly to Axis during the war and is not to be trusted.

22. Rodière, Yves
French procureur of the Mixed Court, born in 1885. Member of French judicial service. Able and very hard-working. Has spent most of his career in Morocco. Reputed to be corruptible.

23. Tovar, Duke of, and Marqués de Gauna
Son of a former Spanish Ambassador in Rome. Lived in Tangier unmolested throughout the war in spite of his Royalist sympathies. As a grandee of Spain he has recently taken a public stand as the principal Royalist in Tangier. His royalism is probably a matter of ideology and loyalty, and, prodigiously fat as he is, he does not give the impression of a man of action. Very rich.

24. Troeder, Sylvain
Assistant Administrator for Finance. Belgian, born Brussels 1914, has Antwerp and London University degrees in economics. Worked for Belgian Government in London, 1943–44. Director of Industrial Supplies at Belgian Ministry of Economics, 1944–47. Has been a member of the Belgian delegation to O.E.E.C. In private business since 1947.
Appointed to his present post in May 1951 in the absence of any other candidate. His intelligence and technical qualifications seem good, but he is rather young for the job.

25. Vallet, Jean
Born 23rd May, 1885. Appointed by Vichy as French judge at Tribunal Mixte. In 1940 was head of local "Action Française en Égypte" and was at that time described as one of the most dangerous Frenchmen in Egypt. Stated on all sides to be anti-British and to have been 100 per cent. collaborationist.

26. Wauters, Alfred
Born 1912. Belgian judge of the Mixed Court appointed to replace M. de Foy. Worked with Belgian Government in United Kingdom from 1943. Was Premier Substitut du Procureur du Roi up to date of his appointment to Tangier. Has lately married an English wife.

JEWS

1. Abensur, Aaron
British subject, born about 1895. Owns, with his brother Moses (Maurice), the local banking-house of Moses Pariente, established in 1844, with which this consulate-general and the former British Legation have banked for at least sixty years. Father naturalised in 1896 by special Act of Parliament on account of the family's long services to the Crown. Of undoubted loyalty, he is always ready to help His Majesty's Consulate-General and is a very sound and reliable banker.

2. Alster, Jakob
Banker. Polish born, 30th December, 1901. Has very bad reputation but is generally regarded as most able business man in Tangier.

3. Bendrao Ruah, Isaac
Born Tangier, 26th December, 1900. Said to be richest man in Tangier, very friendly with the more influential section of the Spanish colony and claims to be a close personal friend of General Varela.

4. Bengualid, Semtob
Moroccan subject, born about 1880. Local head of the firm of Isaac and Joseph Cohen, the principal importers of British goods. Slightly in difficulties of late. Hard worker and highly respected. Jewish member of the Legislative Assembly of the International Zone.

5. Hassan, Joseph
Portuguese subject, born about 1880. Very rich. Head of the Hassan family, who own the Salvador Hassan Bank. Bank's Tetuan agency acted as Franco's bankers in the civil war, other banks in the Spanish Zone being either foreign and non-interventionist or else controlled by Republican Madrid.

6. Salama Benatar, Isaac and Samuel
Have made a vast fortune during the war. Financial activities not above suspicion, but have never been black-listed.

MOSLEMS

1. Abderrahman Anegay
Secretary-general of the Istiqlal Party in Tangier and takes charge of the party's activities during Allal el Fassi's absence. Intelligent, with an excellent command of French. One of the more reasonable of the Moroccan Nationalists.

2. Si Ahmed ben Hajj Majammad Tazi
The Sultan's representative or Mendoub. Born in 1901. Fought on Abdelkrim's side in the Riff campaign, 1926. Appointed Governor of Tangier prison, 1928. Later held post of Second Khalifa to his father the late Mendoub until both were expelled in 1941. While in Rabat was Directeur de Ravitaillement. Returned with Mendoub on 11th October, 1945. More or less ran the Mendoub until latter's death in February 1948, since when he has been acting in his place. Si Ahmed Tazi is intelligent, speaks good French and plays the French game assiduously. He has inherited a large fortune from his father and is almost certainly not above grinding the faces of the faithful. For two years after his father's death the Sultan refused to appoint him Mendoub in spite of pressure from the French and he continued to do the work of the post as First Khalifa. His appointment in February 1950 caused him great pleasure. His outlook is very conservative like that of most rich Moors, but he is shrewd and hard-working and probably as good a man as could be found for the post.

3. Si Mohammed ben Abderrahman Saidi
The Mendoub's Acting First Khalifa. Born about 1896. Native of Tangier. Son-in-law of Si Kaddor ben Ghabrit, the Sultan's "chef du protocole" in Paris. Has held minor posts at Mogador, Meknes and Rabat. Appointed to present position on 11th October, 1945. Modest, unassuming and friendly.

4. Si Mohammed Guennoun
Mendoub's Third Khalifa, born about 1908 in Fez but lived mostly in Tangier. Was Cadi's Khalifa before 1939, later notary. Has better reputation than Nos. 1 and 2. Is brother of No. 12.

5. Si Mohammed ben Driss ben Rahmoun
Kadi of Tangier. Born 1876 but does not look his age. Native of Fez. Formerly scribe at court of the Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz. Present at Paris and Madrid conferences on Tangier. Held post of Kadi at Mogador. Appointed to Tangier on re-establishment of International régime. Has bad reputation, reported to insist on bribes before signing documents or giving judgment. Professes to be a friend of England.

6. Moulay Ahmed el-Amrani
Mohtassib of Tangier, appointed 11th October, 1945. Born in 1871. Native of Fez. After learning trade of carpenter, became successively scribe to Mohtassib, Khalifa to Mohtassib and finally Mohtassib (head of the trade guilds).

7. Si Abdessalam Shebaa
Born in 1881. Member of good old Tangier family. Holds post of "Bou Mouarit" (Curateur des Successions vacantes) and is also member of the Legislative Assembly. At the request of Mendoub remained in Tangier during Spanish occupation to help with supply questions. Dependable and friendly.

8. Moulay Ahmed ben Hajj Abdessalam el-Wazzani
Born in 1876. Son of well-known Shereef of Wazzan. Was Pasha of Wazzan, now retired.

9. Sidi Ahmed ben Sidi Mohammed ben Siddiq el-Ghomari
Born in 1901. Chief of the Derkaoua Fraternity, with some 400 followers in Tangier and others in surrounding tribes. Studied at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, and is anxious to return to Egypt. Clever and untrustworthy, ready to work for highest bidder. A source of worry and fear to the French authorities. Organiser of demonstration involving procession of some 3,000 natives through streets in 1947. In February 1950 he was accused by the Spaniards of organising armed incursions into the Spanish Zone. Rather than hand him over to the Spanish authorities the International Administration instituted an enquiry as a result of which he was arrested and confessed to having arranged the smuggling of arms across the frontier, but claimed that he had acted at the request of the Spanish authorities. It seems likely that in fact he was the victim of *agents provocateurs*. He was condemned to three and a half years' imprisonment and sent to serve his sentence in the French Zone where it is thought likely that the penalty will eventually be commuted by the Sultan to one of *résidence forcée*.

10. Si Abderrahman Menebhi
Son of the late Sir Mehdi-el-Menebhi, G.C.M.G., and brother-in-law of the Pasha of Marrakesh, El Glaoui. Enjoys a certain prestige as the son of his father, but not very reliable or of strong character. Has recently come under the influence of the Nationalists who use his house as a meeting place. As a result he was summoned before the Mixed Court in June 1951, with other Nationalists and questioned on the score of alleged illegal political activities.

11. Sidi Mohammed al-Mekki Nasiri
Born about 1907, formerly resident in Tetuan. Founder and leader of Moroccan Unity Party, editor of party's newspapers (*Al-Wahdah al-Maghribia*, suppressed by Spanish authorities, Tetuan; *La Voix du Maroc*, in 1947 by Committee of Control, Tangier). Founder and director of Moulay al-Mahdi Institute, Tetuan, with branch in Tangier. Studied in Cairo 1927–31 and revisited Egypt 1937–38 (where he still has good contacts) to found Beit-al-Maghrib. Has the reputation of being more venal than the other Nationalist leaders. In 1950 he started a new paper, *Minbar al Sha'ab*, which was subsidised by the French authorities, and tried to start a new political party in the French Zone to work for Franco-Moroccan co-operation. In this he was unsuccessful, and at the time of the dispute between the Sultan and the Resident General, he burned his boats with the French and returned to Tangier,

where he joined the other Nationalist leaders in forming the National Front. (See under No. 15.)

12. Si Abdullah Guennoun
Born about 1909. Taught in Franco-Arab school, left in order to start a "free" (*i.e.*, not officially controlled) school 1937. New school built by public subscription and opened 1947. French and Spaniards have both sought his allegiance, but he is reputed to be non-political. In any case, the French are much less suspicious of his activities than they are of Nasiri's.

13. Si Ahmed Erkaina
Born about 1907. Owns large bakery. Probably most intelligent and outspoken of six Moorish members of Legislative Assembly. Appointed Nadir del Habus on the death of his brother Mohamed.

14. Abd-el-Khalek Torres
Leader of the (Spanish Zone) Nationalist "Reform" Party. At present exiled in Tangier. He joined the other nationalist leaders in forming the National Front in April 1951 (see under No. 15). Resisted an attempt by the authorities of the Spanish Zone to persuade him to return to Tetuan and work with them. Is believed to have more political sense than the other nationalist leaders here. On the other hand it is said that he is not a good Moslem and this does him harm with his stricter co-religionists.

15. Si Allal el-Fassi
Leader of the (French Zone) Independence Party (*Hizb el Istiqlal*). An educated man who, like most of his fellow nationalists, has so far shown more gift for speaking and writing than for political organisation, el Fassi, who had been living quietly in Tangier directing his paper, *Al Ala'am*, came into prominence with his party in 1951 in connexion with the crisis in the relations between the Sultan and the authorities of the French Protectorate, when, nationalist reactions in the French Zone having been repressed, the initiative passed to the leaders in Tangier. Joined with the leaders of the Reform, Democratic Independence and Moroccan Unity parties to form a National Front in April 1951. Was summoned to the Mixed Court for questioning in connexion with alleged illegal activities. The examination hung fire during the summer and he left on a visit to Egypt in August.

16. Allal ben Abou
Spanish subject and at one time proposed for the post of Grand Vizier in Spanish Morocco. Is a very rich proprietor and is regarded as the chief of the pro-Spanish Moors.

17. Ahmed Said
The Tangier representative of the Khalifa. Administers the Khalifa's property and business interests in the International Zone.

18. Ahmed ben Suda
Representative in Tangier of the Democratic Independence Party, and signed the National Front pact in April 1951 on behalf of his leader, Mohammed Hassan el Wazzani. Went to Egypt with the latter in August 1951. Is a nationalist of many years' standing.

19. Abdelkader ben Omar Barrada
One of the richest merchants in Tangier. Native of Fez. Was blacklisted during the war, but always kept up friendly relations with the French Consulate by whom he appears to be treated with considerable respect, in spite of the fact that he has acquired Spanish nationality.

JM 1902/1

No. 21

TANGIER: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Consul-General Stirling to Mr. Morrison. (Received 15th August)

(No. 104. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *28th July,* 1951.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of missions at Tangier for the year 1951.

I have, &c.
C. N. STIRLING.

Enclosure in No. 21

Heads of Foreign Missions at Tangier, 1951

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Belgium
M. de Radiguès de Chennevière (arrived 19th February, 1945), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

*M. de Radiguès was counsellor in Paris at the outbreak of war and subsequently passed some time in a concentration camp. He is industrious and painstaking and enjoys preparing memoranda for the Committee of Control. As he is also able he is a very useful colleague. He has a pleasant if slightly malicious sense of humour. Both he and his wife, by whom he has three children, are socially minded and most friendly and pleasant colleagues. They both speak good Engiish. M. de Radiguès has other grown-up children in Belgium by his first wife. (Written in 1947.)

France
M. François de Panafieu (arrived 17th March, 1950), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

M. de Panafieu is 48 years of age and joined the French diplomatic service in 1929. He served for a time in the secretariat of the League of Nations. When France collapsed in 1940 he was in the French Embassy in Washington and after hesitating for some time he resigned and joined the Free French Forces afterwards serving on the staff in North Africa. Since the war he has been successively counsellor at Copenhagen, consul-general at Hambourg and Directeur des Accords Techniques at the Quai d'Orsay. Clever, agreeable and extremely competent, he is inclined to suggest that Tangier does not give sufficient scope for the exercise of his admitted talents. A pleasant colleague, but one who needs watching rather closely. He is a man of the world with varied interests, and he and his wife, who is quiet, amiable and intelligent, have considerable private means and entertain well.

Italy
M. Corrado Baldoni (arrived 12th October, 1948), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

M. Baldoni came to Tangier from Rome where he had been "chef du personnel" in the Palazzo Chigi. He had previously served in Austria and Hungary and during the war in Egypt and Germany.

An excellent diplomat and a good colleague, he conceals behind charming manners good abilities and much sound sense. Studied law and social sciences at the university. He conducts Italian affairs here with great discretion and by the exercise of tact and patience has obtained the appointment of an Italian to the post of Legal Adviser to the Administration. Mme. Baldoni's father was a high official of the Italian court. She and her husband both enjoy poor health but entertain with charm and distinction upon occasion. They both speak passable English and are extremely friendly.

Netherlands
M. Allard Merens (arrived 1st February, 1950), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

*M. Merens has spent much of his service in South Africa and India, where he was Netherlands representative at Delhi during the war. From 1945–49 he was minister at Prague, and I understand that towards the end of his appointment he had some difficulties with the Czechoslovak authorities. He may be a little rigid, like so many of his countrymen, in dealing with those of whom he disapproves, but he is personally most friendly and agreeable and, again like many of his countrymen, thoroughly loyal and co-operative. (Written in 1950.)

Portugal
M. Archer gave up his position as Portuguese Consul-General in April upon being nominated to succeed Jonkheer van Vredenburch as administrator of Tangier. He is at present on leave of absence and his place will not be filled until he takes up his new post. In the meantime a chargé d'affaires with the rank of consul has been sent to take charge of the consulate-general. Senhor A. Brilhante Laborinho has spent a good deal of his service in the Commonwealth and could not be more friendly or easier to deal with.

Spain
Señor Don Cristóbal del Castillo (arrived 10th September, 1945), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

*Señor del Castillo joined the Spanish diplomatic service in 1917. He was minister-counsellor in Paris before the war and minister in Athens before serving here as consul-general from 1942–44 when he was appointed assistant Under-Secretary in Madrid. After the Paris Conference in 1945 he was re-appointed consul-general in Tangier. During the war he gave the impression of being anti-British, but on his return evidently felt it desirable to disguise these feelings and he frequently spoke to me of the need for co-operation between Spain and the United Kingdom and the United States. He appeared to feel acutely the difficulty of his position as representative of a country which had been forced to relinquish her illegal occupation of Tangier, but still considered herself to have the strongest claims to predominance here. He, therefore, kept to himself as much as possible and tried to prevent repercussions in Tangier of Spanish political problems and apart from making long statements whenever he felt it necessary to place Spanish claims on record, he seemed anxious to avoid causing serious difficulties on the Committee of Control. During the last few months, however, M. del Castillo's attitude has changed for the worse and he has become extremely active in pressing for the restoration of Spain's former position in the International Administration. He evidently has considerable pull in Madrid and has worked hard to encourage the build-up of Spain's position here. He gives the impression of wishing to go down to history as the man who gave Spain a pre-eminent position in Tangier. The somewhat totalitarian methods which he now tends to employ make him an uncomfortable colleague on the Committee of Control. There is no doubt that he is able and cunning as well as ambitious. His wife, who is a charming little lady from Bilbao, speaks English. They have one son. (Written in 1948.)

He suffers from a liver complaint and is often unable to attend to business.

United States
Mr. Plitt left Tangier in April and was replaced by Mr. John Carter Vincent, who arrived 13th June, 1951, to take up the post of American diplomatic agent and consul-general.

Mr. Vincent joined the United States Foreign Service about twenty-five years ago; went to China as a language student in 1929; and eventually rose through various consular posts in China to be director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs in the State Department. As such he was associated with the policy embodied in General Marshall's mission to China and when that failed was involved in the attacks on the State Department's conduct of affairs engineered by the China lobby in Congress. He was removed from the State Department and appointed minister in Berne, whence he has now been transferred to make room for a political appointee. It was intended to make him ambassador to Costa Rica, but apparently the State Department did not dare to face the necessity of submitting his appointment to Congress, and eventually decided to move Mr. Plitt in order to make more room for him here, as the nomination to the post of diplomatic agent does not require congressional approval.

Mr. Vincent, who had been hoping to go on leave almost immediately after presenting his credentials, admits that he has not yet concerned himself much with local affairs. He promises, however, to be a friendly and agreeable colleague. He expresses I think a genuine admiration for his former colleagues in His Majesty's consular service, who initiated him as a young vice-consul into Chinese affairs. He is obviously a man of lively interests and, if he can bring himself to take an interest in Tangier should be a valuable colleague. His wife appears to be a woman of character and intelligence though perhaps rather too much of a blue-stocking to be happy in Tangier society.

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